

**ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW
AND ASSESSMENT
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE
NATIONAL MONUMENT**

by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for George Washington Birthplace National Monument (GWB) is to identify culturally significant resources in the park, describe their importance to park-associated people, and discuss how park-associated peoples have in the past, and presently perceive the park. To better identify and assess these resources, an extensive review of existing documentary sources was undertaken, the intent of which was to place the family history and land use practices of park neighbors (including former owners of park lands) in historical context. An analysis and summary of the extensive secondary literature concerning the study area was undertaken, as well as significant original research based on a wide variety of primary sources and oral history interviews. Interviews were carried out with representatives of many long-standing farm families in the region. Washington/Latane, Muse, and Johnson family descendants, members of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, and African American and Native American leaders were consulted.

Significant findings of this study include those that permit a clearer picture of Native American life on and near park properties from the Archaic period to the eighteenth century A.D. Although contemporary Native American communities are not associated with the park, the first European settlement of the park area can be traced to evidence that it was a favorable location for agriculture as practiced by the original inhabitants. Similarly, reported encounters between Native Americans and early settlers on the Northern Neck are revealed, which provide new details about the rapid dispossession of the Natives living there, and suggest that some of the members of the Washington family were actively involved in that enterprise. The study provides a brief history of the Washington/Latane and Muse families who have lived and farmed in this area for more than 350 years, some of whom were active in the Wakefield National Memorial Association that acquired land for the memorial site and developed the Memorial House. The study also increases our understanding of the use of enslaved and free labor by the Washington family and other prominent families in the study area in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Johnson family, African Americans whose forebears have lived near and worked on park properties since prior to the Civil War, is also described.

The little-studied post Civil War period, immediately preceding the establishment of GWB, was a period of adjustment and privation for many residents of

the study area. It was during this time that some African Americans were able to acquire land from Washington heirs, and to establish schools and churches nearby, while making social and economic gains. Interviews conducted for this study provide new details about this important period in African American history on the Northern Neck. Later, in 1923, Josephine Wheelwright Rust started to coalesce the Wakefield National Memorial Association, a noteworthy women's voluntary association devoted to the celebration of George Washington's career and to the values of traditional Southern society. The group was instrumental in acquiring land and developing the Memorial House as a commemorative site.

The ethnographic and ethnohistorical research conducted for this study served to identify and analyze GWB's unique and long-standing "park neighborhood," including the Washington/Latane and Muse families, other park neighbors, the Wakefield Association, and park staff. Interviews with park neighbors made it possible to identify historic patterns of land use at the park, many of which survive to the present day. These include the building and maintenance of significant features such as ditches, roads, and bridges, the creation of a mixed forest/farmland landscape, livestock maintenance and a long-standing focus on grain crops. The Washington/Latane and Muse families' continuing sense of identity is linked to the park and its resources. These resources include wild plants found in wetlands, meadows, wooded areas; farmland; timber; fish; crabs; and game. Interviews with representatives of several such groups resulted in a list of such resources, described in the text and summarized in Appendix A.

The background research provides the context for the second goal of the study, which is to assess how park-associated groups perceive the park, and especially, what meanings and values they attribute to the park and its resources. Members of the Washington/Latane family in particular strongly identify with the land on which their ancestors have farmed for centuries, and with the park that they have helped to establish, and whose staff they continue to cooperate with.

The narrative concludes with recommendations for further research, most of which arise from significant findings of the study. Recommendations include a study of the "social geography" of park neighbors, including the Washington/Latane, Muse, and Johnson families. It also includes suggestions for outreach programs to African American and Native American communities in the region. Further study of the Washington family in the nineteenth century is also recommended.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	i
TABLES, FIGURES, AND MAPS.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
 CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND RESERCH METHODOLOGY	 1
George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Its Place in American History	1
GWB in its Regional Context: The Study Area and Its People	5
Research Needs and Study Objectives at George Washington Birthplace National Monument	10
Methodology and Fieldwork.....	13
Organization of the Report	22
 CHAPTER TWO: THE NATIVE WORLD.....	 23
Introduction.....	23
The Paleoindian Stage in the Study Area	25
The Archaic Stage at GWB.....	26
The Woodland Stage	27
The Late Woodland Stage (900 A.D.–1600 A.D.)	29
Late Woodland II: Social Complexity and Competition	31
The Archeology of Mortuary Ritual.....	35
The Northern Neck: Center or Periphery?.....	36
Archeology into Ethnohistory: The Native Peoples of the Northern Neck in the Sixteenth Century	39
Tidewater Algonquians in the Seventeenth Century	45
World View	57
Religious Specialists.....	60
Werowances.....	61
A Warrior Society in Transition.....	65
 CHAPTER THREE: NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS: A CENTURY OF CONFLICT	 67
The Establishment of Jamestown and Its Impact on the Indian Peoples of the Northern Neck	70
The Great Coup of 1622 and Its Aftermath	73
English Settlement of the Lower Potomac Drainage	80
 CHAPTER FOUR: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY ON THE NORTHERN NECK	 109
The Chesapeake Plantation Economy	110
The Tobacco Economy’s Impact on Regional Development.....	120

	<i>Page</i>
A Three-Tiered Society on the Northern Neck	121
Emerging Elites on the Northern Neck	129
Neighbors of the Washington Family: The Muses.....	141
The Other Extreme: Enslaved and Indentured Servants on the Northern Neck	142
Enslaved African American Life: A Brief Overview	151
Poor to Middling Farmers on the Northern Neck.....	159
The Decline of Tobacco Farming and the Breakup of Large Plantations	167
 CHAPTER FIVE: THE PREMODERN PERIOD ON THE NORTHERN NECK	 169
Mixed Farming on the Northern Neck: Land Use At and Near George Washington Birthplace in the Nineteenth Century	173
Free Blacks in Westmoreland County.....	180
The Civil War and Reconstruction on the Northern Neck.....	181
A Changing Economy.....	185
Westmoreland County in the 1930s	188
A Segregated Society.....	191
The Beginnings of the Wakefield Association and the Establishment of the Park	199
 CHAPTER SIX: PARK NEIGHBORS AND TRADITIONAL GROUPS AT GBW	 201
Park Neighbors and Their Contribution to the Character of the Park	202
The Latane Family	203
Latane Family Farming Practices and Land Management	207
The Muse Family	210
The Horner Family	213
African Americans at GWB: The Johnson Family	214
African Americans Employed at GWB.....	216
The Park “Neighborhood”	218
Park Neighbors as Traditionally Associated Groups.....	222
The Role of the Park in the Expression and Maintenance of Group Identity.....	224
Relations Between Park Neighbors and Park Staff	225
 CHAPTER SEVEN: OTHER GROUPS WITH POTENTIAL TIES TO GWB	 229
Institutionalized Racism and Its Impact	229
The Federal Recognition Environment	231
Native American Communities with Historic Ties to GWB	233
The Rappahannocks.....	234
The Patawomecks.....	238
Potomac River Watermen and Their Ties to Traditional Groups	245

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER EIGHT: COMMEMORATIVE AND LIVING HISTORY	
ORGANIZATIONS	251
The Commemorative Movement, The Wakefield Association, and the Establishment of GWB	251
The Wakefield National Memorial Association in Historical and Cultural Context.....	253
The Wakefield National Memorial Association and Historical Memory	255
Park Neighbors, the Wakefield Association, and Park Staff	262
Changing Character of the Association	263
Living History at George Washington Birthplace National Monument.....	265
Interpreting African American History at GWB	269
CHAPTER NINE: RECOMMENDATIONS.....	275
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	279
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Park Resources and the People Who are Associated with Them, Cultural Significance of Such Resources, and Applicable References.....	303
Appendix B: Interviews Conducted for This Project	309
Appendix C: Extracts from Henry Spelman’s Relation of Virginia	311
Appendix D: Patent Maps.....	315
Appendix E: Biographies of Lawrence and Augustine Washington.....	319
Appendix F: A Sample of Primary Sources from Westmoreland County	325

TABLES, FIGURES, AND MAPS

Page

TABLES

Table 1: Native Population Figures.....	43
Table 2: Indian Fields in Early Patents.....	68
Table 3: 1790 Population Figures.....	167
Table 4: Slave Counts.....	171
Table 5: Crops grown at Stratford, ca. 1930	193
Table 6: Traditional Activities of African Americans.....	195

FIGURES

Figure 1: John White, North Carolina village, ca. 1570	51
Figure 2: Traditional Patawomeck eel basket and eel pot.....	53
Figure 3: Contemporary Patawomeck fishing arrow and burl bowl	56
Figure 4: Yeocomico Church, Westmoreland County	116
Figure 5: Sulgrave Manor, Banbury, Oxfordshire.....	123
Figure 6: Rochester House, Westmoreland County	165
Figure 7: Excavations in preparation for building the Memorial House	166
Figure 8: Matilda Piper Smith, slave of D. Wheelwright Family	179
Figure 9: Oyster shucking in Westmoreland County	186
Figure 10: Wesley Payne, Stratford Hall ca 1930	192
Figure 11: Schematic genealogy of the Wilson/Latane family	204
Figure 12: Blenheim prior to restoration.....	208
Figure 13: Mrs. Ellen Latane Gouldman at Pea Hill Cemetery, 2007	209
Figure 14: Muse Family genealogy.....	211
Figure 15: Ida Johnson at GWB.....	218
Figure 16: Lofton Johnson at the Memorial House, ca. 1960	219
Figure 17: Roberta Samuel and African American interpreters at GWB.....	219
Figure 18: Wooden Patawomeck fishing and hunting tackle.....	241
Figure 19: Patawomeck display of fishing materials	242
Figure 20: Patawomeck cultural and genealogical display	245
Figure 21: Patawomeck cultural exhibits and interpretation.....	246
Figure 22: Patawomeck canoes in various stages of construction.....	248
Figure 23: Wakefield Celebration in the 1930s	256
Figure 24: 1977 July 4th Celebration at Wakefield	268
Figure 25: Anita Wills at GWB.....	272

MAPS

Map 1: George Washington Birthplace National Monument	1
Map 2: Washington Family Lands in Westmoreland County.....	3
Map 3: The Northern Neck of Virginia.....	6
Map 4: GEWA and its environs.....	24
Map 5: Detail from Smith's Map	41
Map 6: Relocation of Native groups in the Rappahannock River Valley.....	94
Map 7: Native people on the Northern Neck	96
Map 8: Detail of the Augustine Herrman Map, 1670.....	111
Map 9: Detail from the Jefferson-Brooke Map.....	118
Map 10: Detail of the Herman Boye Map, 1826.....	169
Map 11: Rappahannock Reserve and significant landmarks	236
Map D-1: Location of the Washington Mill.....	316
Map D-2: Washington's Lands on Mattox Creek	317

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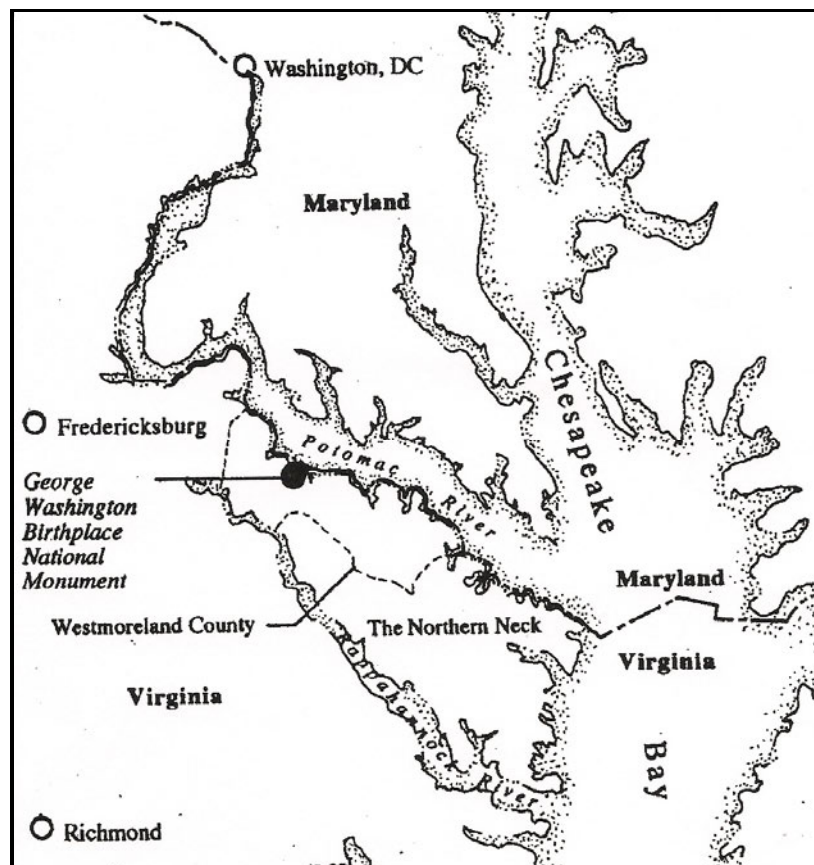
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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT AND ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

George Washington Birthplace National Monument (GWB) memorializes, preserves, and interprets the birthplace of the nation's first president (Map 1). Established on January 23, 1930, GWB was the first historical park administered by the National Park Service, and it has played an important role in the commemorative and heritage movement in this country. The park is also unique in its relationship to the George Washington Birthplace Memorial Association (formerly the Wakefield

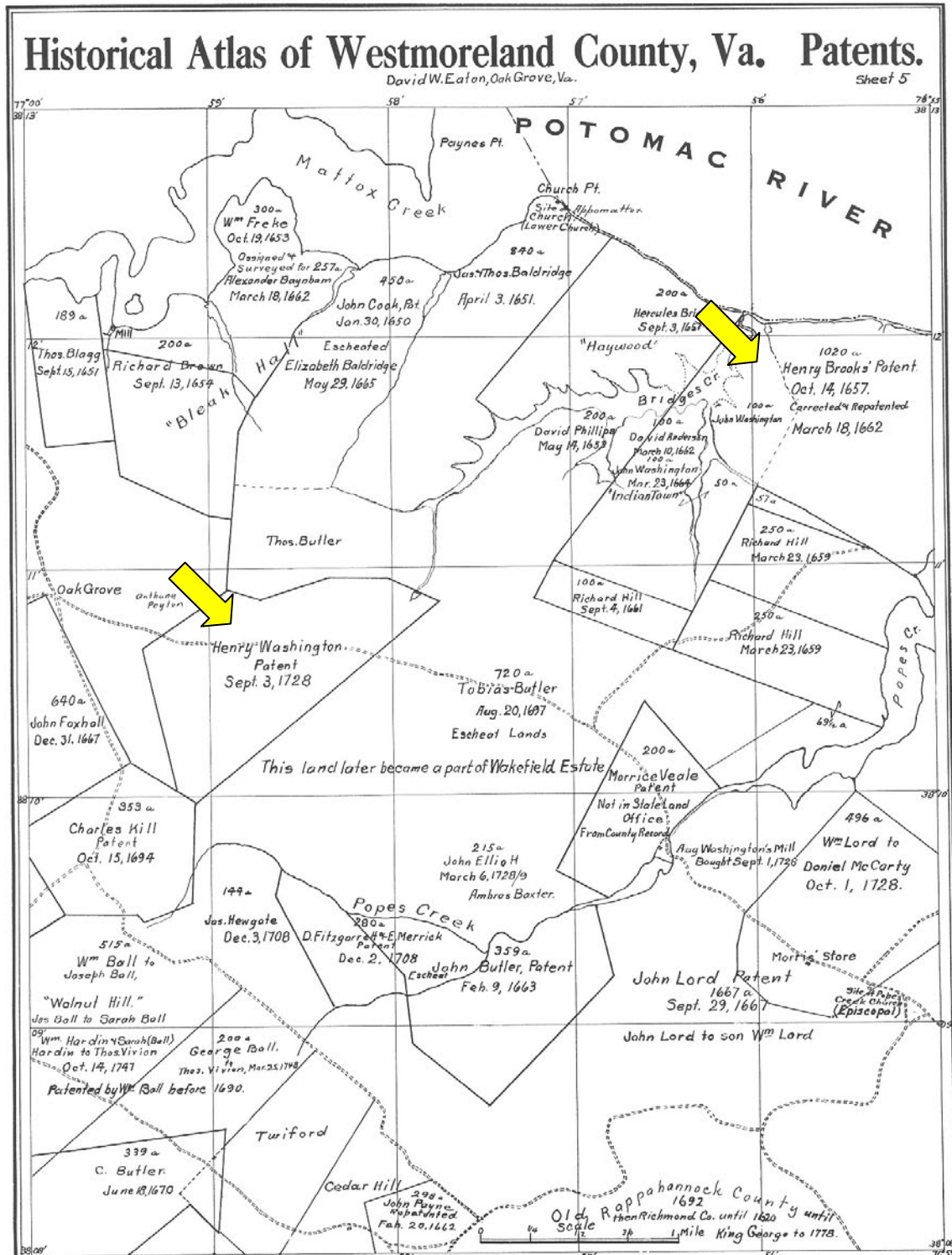


Map 1: George Washington Birthplace National Monument.
Chesapeake Bay map, redrawn by the author.

Memorial Association), one of the most significant commemorative organizations established in Virginia after the Civil War.

The park's properties, located between Bridges' Creek and Pope's Creek on the Potomac River in Westmoreland County, Virginia, just southeast of Mattox Creek, have been continuously occupied since at least the Archaic Period (8000-1000 B.C.). Early European explorers of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers and of the Chesapeake Bay describe the region bounded by them (now known as the Northern Neck) as densely settled by Native American farming communities and richly stocked with game and fish.

Henry Brooks, Nathaniel Pope, and Hercules Bridges were early English patentees on the Northern Neck. John Washington, the founder of the Washington family in America, arrived there in 1656, and married Nathaniel Pope's daughter Ann. Pope gave his daughter 700 acres at Mattox Creek upon her marriage. When John died in 1677, his son John Washington, Jr. inherited the Bridges' Creek land acquired by his father (Map 2). He and his descendants accumulated significant acreage in the area occupied by the park today, including the farm at Pope's Creek where George Washington was born. George Washington and his parents moved to Little Hunting Creek (where Mount Vernon was later built) when George was three-and-a-half years old, and George's older, half-brother Augustine Washington eventually inherited the Pope's Creek property, although George Washington continued to visit for many years thereafter and did his first survey, at age 15, at Bridges' Creek. Augustine Washington's son William Augustine Washington inherited the Pope's Creek farm in 1762, and changed its name to Wakefield (see Map 2). The house at Pope's Creek, built in 1723, and modified over the next forty years, burned to the ground in 1779, and William Augustine Washington's family moved into the nearby overseer's house, later known as Blenheim. The Washington family burial ground and the 60-square-foot plot where the original house was thought to stand were reserved by the family after the Blenheim property was sold, and were ultimately donated to the Commonwealth of Virginia by Lewis Washington in 1858. In 1882, the small property that was to become the nucleus of the park was acquired by the Federal Government. Other park properties were acquired through the efforts of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, headed by Mrs. Josephine Wheelright Rust, a resident of Oak Grove and a descendant of Colonel John and Ann Pope Washington. A number of Augustine Washington's descendants, members



Map 2: Early Pope, Bridges, and Washington family landholdings in Westmoreland County (Washington holdings indicated with arrows).
From David W. Eaton, 1942, *Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County, Virginia*.

of the Latane family, still own and farm the property surrounding the park today. Other long-term residents include the Muse family, whose ancestor John Muse lived near Pope's Creek in the seventeenth century, and who collectively still own a significant portion of the lands surrounding the park, and the Horner family, whose members have farmed land on the southern edge of Pope's Creek since the nineteenth century. Finally, the Johnsons, an African American family, some of whose members live near the park, and many of whom have worked there, have long-standing ties to the region as well. The Washingtons, like other large landholders in Westmoreland County, were slave owners, and the contributions of enslaved labor to their success cannot be overstated. African Americans made up nearly half of Westmoreland County's population at the end of the eighteenth century, and many of their descendants still live in the region today. Along with free blacks and indentured servants, enslaved African Americans engaged in a wide range of economic activities at Pope's Creek. Enslaved labor continued to be important to the success of the planter elite even after farms in the region made the transition from tobacco to grain crops and livestock management. Following emancipation, some African Americans purchased or were given property in the vicinity of Pope's Creek, and elsewhere in the county, although most remained landless. In the early twentieth century, African Americans in Westmoreland County worked as farm hands, domestic servants, and in seasonal work. A significant number worked at the region's sawmills as well. Elderly African American residents recall a life of economic hardship, sustained by strong family and church ties. Today, African Americans are a vital part of the county's society and economy, and hold prominent positions in county government (see Chapters Four-Seven).

Commemorative activities associated with George Washington began at Pope's Creek in 1815, when Martha Custis Washington's grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, traveled to Westmoreland County to mark the site of the birthplace. Although the stone marker erected by Custis was later damaged, and moved from its original location, the Federal Government commissioned a substantial monument to be placed in its vicinity, which was erected on the property in 1896. This monument was subsequently relocated to accommodate the Memorial House (see below). As noted above, the park owes much of its present character to the Wakefield National Memorial Association, which was established in the 1920s to purchase the property known as the Pope's Creek Plantation, to augment the small house site and memorial already owned by the Federal

Government. The Wakefield National Memorial Association planned from the outset to build a replica of the Washington family home, an effort supported financially by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who was also engaged in restoring the colonial capital at Williamsburg, Virginia. The Muse and the Latane families also played an important role in the consolidation of the property which today makes up the park's holdings, and some of their members acted as caretakers for the monument in the early twentieth century.

Debates about commemoration, central to the park's identity, became apparent soon after its establishment. First among these was the centrality of the Memorial House itself, erected largely due to the efforts of Josephine Wheelwright Rust. Although subsequent research determined that the foundations uncovered in the first archeological investigations of the property were not those of the Washington family home, Rust succeeded in bringing her own vision for the "mansion" to fruition, overcoming the reservations of some National Park Service officials at the time, and creating, in the judgment of historian Seth Bruggeman, the most significant "interpretive challenge" facing the park today (2007:25). Over time, the uses to which the Memorial House was put have changed in light of new information and interpretive focus at the park. Nevertheless, the Memorial House remains an important focus for activities of the Wakefield Association (now the George Washington Birthplace Memorial Association). Other Washington family descendants, especially members of the Latane family, were associated with the memorialization of George Washington prior to the establishment of the park, have been active members of the Wakefield Association, and have an interest in the management of the properties surrounding the park to the present day.

GWB IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT: THE STUDY AREA AND ITS PEOPLE

Virginia's Northern Neck is a large land mass defined by the two rivers that mark its northern and southern boundaries, the Potomac and the Rappahannock, both of which drain into the Chesapeake Bay (Map 3). The Northern Neck is divided into four counties, including Richmond, Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland, the county in which the park is located. The prosperity and historical significance of the Northern Neck is linked both to its agricultural and maritime history, and GWB's properties are best understood within this dual context. Evidence from consultations, interviews and background research presented here indicates that agriculture is and has



Map 3: Section of the Fry-Jefferson Map of the Northern Neck and the Chesapeake Bay. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

been by far the most significant economic activity in the area surrounding the park, and the agricultural practices and the social relations that they have entailed have served to shape the character of Northern Neck society. Nevertheless, the maritime and estuarine resources of the Northern Neck are remarkable, and fishing, crabbing and oystering have been of importance to some members of the Muse and Horner families in particular. Hunting, trapping, and surface collecting of fossils and archeological remains are of less significance for local residents.

The Northern Neck is home to a number of historically significant families, including those of three former presidents of the United States. These include, beside the Washington family, the Monroes and (in nearby King George County) the Madisons. Other prominent Anglo-American families included the Lees, the Carters and the Walkers. A complex network of intermarriages links these elite families to one another. However, although wealthy planters in the region have received the lion's share of attention from historians, the majority of the population of the Northern Neck were "middling" and even marginal farmers, who along with indentured servants and enslaved

African Americans contributed substantially to the rural, agricultural economy that has characterized the region for the past three centuries (see Chapters Four, Five, and Six).

There are a number of historic structures and churches in Westmoreland County. St. Peter's Episcopal Church, recently added to the National Register, is tied to the earliest Anglo-American families in the county, as is Yeocomico Church, southeast of Montross. Other churches significant to the people interviewed for this study include the Pope's Creek Baptist Church and the Oak Grove Baptist Church. There are a number of historic African American churches in the county as well; those included in this study are Little Zion Baptist Church in Oak Grove, New Monrovia Baptist Church in Colonial Beach, and Shiloh Baptist Church in Montross. The spine of the Northern Neck runs beneath part of modern Route 3, once known as "Kings Highway," after Robert "King" Carter, who was granted one of the first patents there. The county is also marked by a number of secondary roads, some of which are quite old. Several residents have mentioned that these secondary roads were once Indian paths (e.g., interview with Virginia Harris Clapp, 2007).

The northern shore of the Rappahannock River was densely settled by Native Americans at the time of Captain John Smith's voyages in 1608 and 1612. The area closest to the park was likely to have been part of the territories of the Onawmanient and Sekakawon peoples centered near modern Kinsale, in Westmoreland County. Archeological investigations in the Coan River 20 miles to the east, along the Potomac River, and on the Rappahannock River near modern Port Royal, some 30 miles north and west, indicate extensive Native settlement there in the decades just preceding the arrival of European explorers. In addition, the Pissasecks, whose settlement lay near modern Leedstown, probably ranged from the Rappahannock River in the winter to the Potomac River in the area of the park in the summer (Chapter Two). However, the majority of the Northern Neck's Native inhabitants were driven from their former territories by 1705, and a number were sold into slavery in the West Indies and elsewhere (Chapter Three). Although Native Americans "disappear" from the records of the Northern Neck in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, oral history and chance references in a variety of sources hint at continued Native presence on the Northern Neck. Modern members of the Rappahannock and Patawomeck Indian Tribes in nearby Stafford and King George Counties believe their ancestors once lived there (Chapter Eight).

As noted above, African Americans also have a long history on the Northern Neck. Arriving first as indentured servants, most were soon enslaved, laboring on the large tobacco plantations and on smaller holdings that were soon established in the region. By the eighteenth century, small groups of free- blacks had found homes on the Northern Neck as well. The free black population continued to grow, and some descendants of free black families remain on the Northern Neck today. Following the Civil War, these established families were joined by the freedmen who remained in Westmoreland County. In the impoverished and racialized years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, African American men and women needed to combine farming, day labor, and seasonal work to survive, and many elderly people recall the real contribution that fish, crabs, and small game caught and snared in the area made to their livelihood (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). Legally, socially, and economically disadvantaged, the African American community developed a number of effective institutions, including a remarkable network of churches and schools. Although no African American churches are located within park boundaries, there are at least two African American cemeteries located on its boundaries, and there is one suspected slave cemetery on park grounds. African American church groups often held revivals, prayer meetings, and immersion baptism on park properties, and many met there for picnics and swimming as well. Today, the park still hosts such church-related gatherings. In spite of many obstacles, some African Americans were able to purchase property as well, some near the park grounds. These people, some of whom may descend from former slaves owned by the Wilson family represent a unique group only now receiving attention from scholars (see Chapters Five and Six).

Chesapeake Bay watermen, well studied by folklorists and historians, have no significant links to the study area, although there are some commercial fishermen based in nearby Colonial Beach, at Nomini Bay, and in Kinsale. The Muse and Horner families engaged in part-time crabbing and gill-netting, and one park neighbor, Harry Muse, operated a “working skiff” from his properties at “Muse’s Neck” (interview with Larry Muse, 2007). Members of the Patowomeck Native American community still fish and manufacture eel pots in a traditional manner, and many report ties to the Watermen community (see Chapter Eight). Some African American residents of Westmoreland County interviewed for the study also report connections to commercial fishermen living elsewhere on the Northern Neck and as noted above, many report crabbing and

fishing as a supplemental subsistence or recreational activity (interview with Mrs. Naomi Johnson, 2007; see also Chapter Six).

Most of the people consulted for this study live in and recognize ties to that area of Westmoreland County extending northwest to southeast from Oak Grove to Montross, Virginia, and from Colonial Beach (known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as White Point) to Leedstown on the Potomac and Rappahannock, respectively. Oak Grove, Virginia, at the intersection of the old Native American trail said to underlie Route 205, and modern Route 3, is two miles northwest of the park boundaries, and Montross, Virginia, the county seat, is nine miles south and east. Colonial Beach, on Monroe Bay, was once a gambling mecca, and has long attracted summer visitors. Leedstown, on the Rappahannock River, was the place where the famous “Leedstown Resolves” were promulgated in 1766, signed by a group of 115 men led by Richard Henry Lee of Stratford Hall. In the late nineteenth century, Leedstown was a significant steamer port, providing access for Westmoreland County residents to Baltimore and Norfolk (interview with James Latane I, 1976). Members of the Muse family, long-time park neighbors, live at Leedstown today.

More specifically, the study focused on the people living on the properties closest to George Washington Birthplace National Monument, particularly those who have owned or occupied the properties on either side of Virginia Route 204, the road that links the park to Virginia Route 3. These include the Johnsons, an African American family who live closest to Route 3, and who acquired their lands from Augustine Washington family descendants in the late nineteenth century; the Muse family, former owners of some of the park property, and current park neighbors; the Latane family, descendants of Augustine Washington through Elizabeth Washington Wilson (James Latane, Lawrence Latane, and Ellen Latane Gouldman); and the Horner family, who presently own land on the other side of Bridges’ Creek. Descendants of the Muse family and the Washington/ Wilson/Latane family have occupied the properties on and near the park for more than three hundred and fifty years. In the first forty years of the park’s history, several park staff members and their families also lived along Route 204, and on the park itself, and older park neighbors interviewed for this study considered these park staff neighbors to be part of their community (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman 2007; interview with Janice Muse Frye, 2007).

The Potomac River and Bridges' and Pope's Creeks form the eastern border of the park and neighboring land, and can be glimpsed or accessed from many locations on or near the park; all park neighbors value their proximity to water for subsistence, travel, and recreation. Much of the property surrounding the park is wooded; a significant portion is given over to livestock, and wetlands, such as the Digwood Swamp, are significant landscape features. Several park neighbors interviewed for this study can identify the locations of former structures and ruins on the property, many of which were probably nineteenth century in origin, but family histories include stories of earlier dwellings and outbuildings as well. At one time, a bridge connected the property on which Haywood, the successor to the house of the same name built by Augustine Washington's widow now stands, to Blenheim's grounds. Haywood is owned by William Tune, the husband of another Latane heir. Interviews with park neighbors highlight their specialized knowledge of the land, farming techniques and social and cultural history of the area spanning more than 350 years.

Aside from the Washington descendant/park neighbors, the most significant social group associated with George Washington Birthplace National Monument is the George Washington Birthplace Association, formerly known as the Wakefield National Memorial Association. This volunteer organization has nineteenth-century roots but was formally organized in the 1920s to memorialize George Washington's birthplace. The Association's members, some of whom are Washington family descendants, continue to operate the gift shop at the park and are involved in other interpretive programs as well. An outstanding example of the kind of voluntary association that emerged in many parts of the South in the decades following the Civil War (Janney 2006), the George Washington Birthplace Association is still an important social institution on the Northern Neck, and many of its members are active in other civic and educational organizations in the region as well (Chapter Eight).

RESEARCH NEEDS AND STUDY OBJECTIVES AT GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT

The Statement of Work for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for George Washington Birthplace National Monument required an extensive, in-depth, and detailed investigation of park associations including (1) families with longstanding

ties to the Northern Neck and to Pope's Creek and Bridges' Creek, including descendants of the Washington Family (especially the Latane, Tune, and Gouldman families) as well as long-time residents and neighbors such as members of the Muse and Horner families, and (2) African Americans who may be determined to be descendants of former Washington family slaves, or the enslaved Africans from nearby plantations, or those who are already so identified (Jenkins 2004:7-8). Two cemeteries on the park property, the Muse family gravesite and a possible African American cemetery, were identified as ethnographic resources associated with these groups. The Statement of Work emphasized that ethnographic research focused on local families with ties to the park was urgently needed, as was information about middling, poor and enslaved peoples and their descendants (see also Jenkins 2004:9-10). Such research was crucial, it was argued, as there seemed to be little knowledge at the park concerning its neighbors' relationships to park resources (Jenkins 2004:9). The Statement of Work for the GWB Ethnographic Overview and Assessment identified several groups who might fall under the heading of "traditionally associated" peoples, including park neighbors, African American descendants of Washington family slaves, Native Americans, and other park users, and proposed a research project designed to (1) confirm initial assessments, (2) research the ethnohistory and current practices of such groups as were identified, and (3) identify the attitudes and perceptions of GWB held by such groups. In addition, the Statement of Work noted that the social and cultural history of the region in which the park was situated demanded further study.

The Statement of Work for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for the George Washington Birthplace National Monument required an inventory of all natural and cultural features, sites, structures, museum objects or cultural landscapes in or adjacent to GWB that are linked to the cultural practices, beliefs, values, history and cultural/ethnic identity of park neighbors or other traditionally associated groups connected to the park. The study was meant to employ historical and ethnographic methods suitable for identifying such resources, practices and beliefs, while the theoretical frameworks developed by anthropologists and social historians were meant to put such information into context.

The project team was tasked with using published and unpublished (archival) sources, and the results of ethnographic fieldwork, to develop comprehensive baseline ethnohistorical and ethnographic information that describes the patterns of

demography, settlement, and traditional land use in and adjacent to the George Washington Birthplace National Monument from the time of first human occupation to the present, by peoples and groups including, but not limited to, the following: Native Americans and their descendants; European settlers and their descendants; African American slaves and their descendants; and non-recreational traditional users. This historical research is meant to provide the ethnohistorical and contemporary ethnographic context for the documentation of park resources identified in the inventory described above.¹

Prior analysis, initial observations by project team members, extensive documentary research, and subsequent ethnographic fieldwork confirmed that the agricultural character of the Northern Neck, including its dependence on enslaved, and later, low-wage labor, and the continuing influence of a complex network of interrelated families with long histories in the region, are the principal characteristics of the park. The Washington family descendants/ park neighbors are both representative of this pattern and are central to GWB's unique character. GWB's important place in the history of commemoration, on the other hand, is best represented by the voluntary associations now linked to it, especially the George Washington Birthplace Association (formerly the Wakefield National Memorial Association). In comparison, the ties to the park of other

¹ Topics for research itemized in the Statement of Work included the following: (1) Population, settlement, economic and political history, including a summary of Native American archeological research findings, identification of land use and occupation patterns, and a description of former tribal communities in or near the park and their demise; (2) The background of English settlers in the study area, particularly with Washington family forebears, and their ties to Sulgrave Manor; the rise and fall of the plantation system; the incidence of slaves at Pope's Creek plantation; and their dispersion at the end of this era; (3) The historical continuity of contemporary landowning families adjacent to the park; (4) Historical and contemporary uses of land in or nearby the park, including patterns of agricultural land use, seasonality of land uses, non-recreational hunting and fishing activities and sites, localities where food has been harvested or gathered; (5) Other economic activities adjacent to the park (such as commercial crabbing and oyster harvesting); (6) Uses and associations with specific ethnographic landscapes, "natural" features, sites and objects, including the two historic burial sites and park museum objects and collections; (7) Participation of park-associated groups in the development of the George Washington Birthplace memorial site through the Wakefield Memorial Association and its successor organization; (8) Medicinal uses of park resources, if any; (9) Ongoing traditional associations (culturally transmitted values, beliefs and practices) of contemporary peoples and groups with the park and its natural and cultural resources, including Native American descendant groups, descendants of African American slaves, long-term farming families, and non-recreational traditional users associated with the Pope's Creek area.

“traditional” groups” tentatively identified in the Statement of Work, are far less significant (see Chapters Six and Eight).

METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

The research presented in this report was undertaken in four stages:

1. Meeting with park staff and program managers, participation in the GWB Scholar’s Round Table
2. Identification of a research team and creation of a work plan
3. Documentary research
4. Fieldwork and interviewing

1. Meeting with Park Staff and Program Managers and Participation in the GWB Scholar’s Round Table

The principal investigator was briefed by the Agreement Technical Representative, Dr. Charles Smythe, Northeast Region Program Manager, in September 2005, and by Heather Huyck, NPS historian and coordinator of the Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the College of William and Mary, during several meetings in September and October 2005. Dr. Smythe arranged a meeting with park staff in February 2006. He also met with team members at the College of William and Mary. These meetings helped to clarify the project goals. Park staff members stressed the need for updated historical information for use in interpretation, and expressed interest in the ways in which the study could improve community outreach. Dr. Smythe explained the importance of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment to the Park and to resource management issues, as well as to the General Management process, and provided several examples of similar projects undertaken elsewhere in the park system, as well as copies of GWB research reports already completed. Dr. Smythe was also instrumental in obtaining copies of interviews conducted by previous researchers. The Scholar’s Round Table, held on May 22, 2006, was a forum for the discussion of many aspects of scholarship regarding George Washington and his family, putting Washington scholarship in the larger context of colonial American history.

2. Identification of the Research Team

The complexity and broad scale of this project, which called for ethnohistorical and ethnographic research focusing on a number of potential traditionally associated groups, required the expertise of individuals with research specialties in African American, Native American, and Anglo-American history, who were also experienced ethnographers. These needs and the availability and interest of local experts dictated the choice of team members. We were fortunate to be able to contract with the following individuals, whose credentials and backgrounds are summarized below.

1. **Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.** Dr. Moretti-Langholtz had conducted ethnographic and ethnohistorical fieldwork among Native Americans in Oklahoma and Alaska, and previously served on the staff of the Museum of Natural History in New York. Since 1992, her research has focused on the history and ethnography of the native people of Virginia, with an emphasis on their contemporary political history. Dr. Moretti-Langholtz agreed to conduct fieldwork among the Patowomeck and Rappahannock Indians, and to supervise ethnohistorical research focusing on the Native people identified as having ties to the study area.
2. **Dr. Ywone Edwards-Ingram.** Dr. Edwards-Ingram is a specialist in the history and culture of the African Diaspora, and conducted her dissertation on the religious and cultural background of enslaved African Americans in eastern Virginia. Dr. Edwards-Ingram has worked on previous projects for the National Park Service, and in particular, is knowledgeable concerning the significance of archeological evidence in interpreting the lives of enslaved and free African Americans in the region. Dr. Edwards-Ingram agreed to conduct ethnographic interviews with members of the African American community of the study area, and to write a summary of the research on the history of enslaved peoples in the region, with an emphasis on archeology and material culture.
3. **Martha McCartney.** Ms. McCartney is widely regarded as the most knowledgeable historian working with county and state records in Virginia and adjacent states. Most recently, Ms. McCartney has written a history of James City County (McCartney 1997) and another summarizing what is

known about earliest Virginia colonists (McCartney 2007). Ms. McCartney has worked on several projects for the National Park Service, and other state and federal agencies. She agreed to undertake the property history of the park, with a focus on the owners of all tracts within the boundaries of the park throughout its history, as well as to provide a general history of the region based on a survey of colonial and state records.

4. **Dr. Jane McKinney.** Dr. McKinney's dissertation research concerned the anthropology of tourism, with an emphasis on heritage sites. Dr. McKinney agreed to conduct ethnographic research with a focus on the commemorative organizations associated with the park, and to interview park neighbors and local landowners. Dr. McKinney suffered a serious illness in the course of conducting fieldwork, and was unable to continue with the project.
5. **Research assistants.** Two research assistants were contracted to work on this project. One, **Dr. Edward Ragan**, worked under Dr. Moretti-Langholtz's supervision, collecting information regarding Native American history in the study area; the other, **Carl Carlson-Drexler**, is a graduate student in anthropology at the College of William and Mary, and has been responsible for map production, document formatting, and bibliographic references.

Analysis, synthesis, and the writing of the narrative itself was the responsibility of the principal investigator. In addition, following Dr. McKinney's illness, the PI took on the responsibility of interviewing park land owners and neighbors, and conducting historical research on the commemorative organizations associated with the park.

3. Historical Research

The following repositories and collections were searched:

Library of Congress: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles identified. In addition, a review of materials from the National Folklore and Folklife Center was undertaken, which identified materials of potential use to the park, including collections focusing on African American history and material culture, and on Chesapeake Bay watermen folklore, music, and history.

National Archives: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified.

Library of Virginia: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified. Virginia Land Office records were examined via the Library of Virginia's website, after they had been identified via abstracts. Microfilmed copies of Westmoreland County court records were used extensively. Specifically, deeds, wills, inventories, court orders and minute books, plats and other legal records were examined. Efforts also were made to extend the study area's chain of title. Methodical research was done utilizing land and personal property tax lists, demographic records (including slave schedules), agricultural censuses, social statistics, and other relevant groups of documents. Transcriptions of WPA interviews, conducted in Westmoreland County, were reviewed. References cited by NPS historian Charles E. Hatch in his reports were verified or amplified. The local court records of Northumberland County, Westmoreland's antecedent, were studied in abstract form. The records of Westmoreland and Northumberland Counties were found to be in an excellent state of preservation. Colonial records at the Library of Virginia were also searched extensively for references to Native Americans in the study area, and laws regulating Native American and African Americans in the colonial period and in the nineteenth century.

Virginia Department of Historic Resources: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles identified. Use was made of HABS/HAER and National Register files.

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified. Maps reproduced in secondary sources, including *The Cartography of Northern Virginia*, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army*, and *The Official Atlas of the Civil War*, also were utilized. The *Virginia Gazette* index was searched for relevant items, as was the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Use was made of research reports previously commissioned by the National Park Service in connection with the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Also used were National Park Service ethnohistorical studies on African Americans and Native Americans in eastern Virginia. Peggy S. Joyner's published compilations of Northern Neck surveys and grants were examined thoroughly, as were a relatively broad variety of published and unpublished sources. Among them were the late Charles E. Hatch's reports on the Pope's Creek Plantation (1968, 1979), and David W. Eaton's *Historical Atlas of Westmoreland County, Virginia* (1942). Specialized references

were reviewed that described military activity within the region during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars.

Westmoreland County Historical Society: The research library at the Westmoreland County Historical Society has extensive clippings files, an excellent collection of locally published historical studies and family histories, and a number of unpublished research papers, including cemetery guides, guides to historic sites, oral histories, and other research notes. These materials were extensively reviewed, and are cited in the report.

Swem Library, Special Collections, The College of William and Mary: The Special Collections Department at Swem Library contains manuscript collections relating to Westmoreland County, including several account books and collections of letters. These materials were analyzed as part of a class taught by the Principal Investigator in the Fall of 2006, and the results are presented in this report.

Virginia Historical Society: Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles identified. A thorough search was made of VHS's index to its manuscript collections. A number of these collections were examined for information regarding Native American and African American history in the region as well.

George Washington Birthplace National Monument Archives: The extensive archives at GWB were examined for information relevant to this study. In particular, the Supervisor's monthly report files, the Wakefield Association Papers, and the Special Use Permit files were reviewed.

Consultants' Private Sources: Indices to collections of plats in private papers at the Virginia Historical Society and to Virginia maps housed in the Huntington Library (in San Marino, California) were checked for potentially useful maps. Martha McCartney's copies of reports prepared for the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation were utilized, as was a draft Resource Preservation Plan on the Upper Tidewater region, prepared by Ms. McCartney while a staff member of Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

On-Line Sources: Records of the Freedmen's Bureau were examined on-line, as were demographic records made accessible through subscription to www.ancestry.com. Another valuable source is the website devoted to the Washington Papers at the Library

of Congress (www.WashingtonPapers.edu). On-line resources provided by Stratford Hall, Mount Vernon, and The University of Virginia were also consulted.

Secondary Sources: A wide variety of secondary sources were consulted, the most useful cited in the bibliography. In addition, interviews with local experts provided additional material included in the report.

The George Washington Birthplace National Monument has an extensive research history as well. Among the venerable research reports produced by park staff and their contractors are Charles E. Hatch Jr.'s *Pope's Creek Plantation: Birthplace of George Washington* (1979), and more recent reports on the archeology and cultural resources at the park. The research on George Washington himself is extensive and growing. The research described in this study is also meant to utilize and augment other recent NPS research that has resulted in the historic resource study of Pope's Creek Plantation (Hatch 1979), an Administrative History (Bruggeman 2007), a Cultural Landscape Report (OCULUS 1999), a Cultural Landscape Inventory (George Washington Birthplace National Monument 2004), an Archeological Assessment (Gilmore et al. 2001), and an adjacent lands study, *Conserving the Setting of George Washington Birthplace* (George Washington Birthplace National Monument 1987).

Another category of information comes from the extensive Park Archives. Documentation regarding the Wakefield Association, and especially relations with local landowners and park neighbors is plentiful, dating back to the nineteenth century, and is especially plentiful for the significant periods of park establishment and expansion from 1930 to 1970. This information is largely ethnographic in nature, as it documents with remarkable detail, the role that the Wakefield Association and park neighbors had in shaping the park, its interpretations, and its management decisions. From the extensive correspondence, for example, it is possible to intuit attitudes that representatives of these groups had toward the park.

Historical research methods included a comprehensive and systematic review of a wide range of published and unpublished documentary sources including academic papers (master's theses, doctoral dissertations, journal articles, and conference papers), government documents (such as records of surveys, censuses, vital statistics, birth and death records, and land transfers), archival collections housed in state and local repositories, genealogical data sources (including collections at Mount Vernon), and non-NPS sponsored oral history collections. Ethnohistorical research also emphasizes a

methodology designed to “read between the lines” of traditional documentary sources, taking special care to determine the ethnocentric biases of those records written by one (usually dominant) group concerning other (usually subordinate) groups. Ethnohistory as an approach is also informed by linguistics, archeology and comparative anthropological theory and insights, and attempts to tell history from the point of view of those peoples not traditionally represented in historical narratives, or whose histories have been misrepresented in those narratives.

4. Ethnographic Fieldwork

The ethnographic portion of this study was guided by the following research questions:

- a. Which, if any, groups identified in this study have “traditional associations” with the park (that is, associations that pre-date the establishment of the park, and which are important to the group’s history and sense of identity)?
- b. What significance do these groups ascribe to the park, its resources and its history? How does the park figure in their own cultural practices, values, and beliefs?
- c. What contributions do these groups make to the unique character of George Washington Birthplace National Monument?

Individual Interviews: In order to answer these questions, potential interviewees were identified with the advice of Park Service staff, and of local historians and community leaders. Representatives of several Native American communities were consulted about the appropriate protocol for conducting research. Interviews were designed to elicit information regarding the knowledge that individuals or representatives of groups had about the park, and what the park meant to them and to their families and communities. This information was in turn used to determine whether and how their knowledge and activities were central to their sense of group identity. Finally, as required in the Statement of Work, the interviews were directed towards the collection of specific knowledge about park resources, including traditional uses of plant and animal resources, land use, memorial or commemorative activities, and non-recreational hunting and fishing.

Individual interviews included life history interviews, such as those conducted with Reverend James Johnson and Mrs. Virginia Clapp, and conversations with park employees, local historians, museum curators, church leaders, park neighbors, Native American leaders, and local landowners. Some of these interviews were supplemented by telephone conversations. A list of all interviewees is included in Appendix B. In addition, a number of interviews with local landowners, present and former park employees, members of the George Washington Birthplace Association (formerly the Wakefield National Memorial Association) and Washington family descendants were conducted by other researchers, and the records of these interviews (in the form of tape recordings and transcriptions) were employed in this study as well.

Ethnographic fieldwork was tailored to the specific topics each team member was assigned. In addition to participant observation in several Patowomeck and Rappahannock events, Dr. Moretti-Langholtz conducted one-on-one interviews with Patowomeck Chief Robert Green and William Deyo, tribal historian and genealogist for the Patowomeck Tribe. She also met with Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson and tribal member Jamie Ware-Jondreau. In addition to in-person interviews, Dr. Moretti-Langholtz also conducted telephone interviews as well. Interviews were conducted in Stafford County, and the study goals and parameters were described to all tribal leaders. Interviews were informal and conversational. None of the people Dr. Moretti-Langholtz interviewed wished to be taped.

Dr. Edwards-Ingram was asked to conduct interviews in the African American community in Westmoreland County. After many efforts and cancellations, she was able to conduct a group interview with prominent local leaders. This interview was tape recorded and transcribed. Other follow-up interviews with African American church elders, and other local people knowledgeable about African American history in the region were conducted by Dr. Edwards-Ingram and by the PI; these follow-up interviews were not taped. Attempts were made to contact well-known authors Anita Wills and Lynda Allen Bryant regarding their claimed connections to the Washington family (see Chapter Eight) but it was not possible to interview them.

The Principal Investigator conducted five taped interviews and three untaped interviews with Washington family descendants and park neighbors. She conducted three telephone interviews with Muse family members. She also interviewed one local

historian by telephone and a number of current and former GWB park staff members by telephone and in person.

Specific interview questions were determined by each of the team members, with an emphasis on topics identified in the Statement of Work. Project team members followed the guidelines for such research included in the policies and ethical statements of the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology, as well as NPS Management Policies 2006, Director's Order No. 28 (NPS Cultural Resources Management Guideline), all contract documentation, and the guidelines of the Human Subjects Research Committee at the College of William and Mary. A copy of the materials provided to all subjects who agreed to be interviewed is included in the appendices. This project is indexed under William and Mary Protocol number EDIR (PHSC-11-13-44-89-bkbrag).

Participant Observation and Group Interviews: Researchers also participated in group events, including group interviews with members of the Westmoreland County African American community, and participation in Patawomeck Tribal festivals, along with group and individual interviews conducted at those events. The Principal Investigator also observed the Master Gardeners and Memorial House interpreters at work on two occasions.

Summary of Interviews, Individual and Group

	Taped Interview		Untaped Interview		Interview on file
	Indiv	Grp	Indiv	Grp	
Patawomeck Community	—	—	2	2	—
Rappahannock Community	—	—	1	2	—
African American Community	—	1	3	—	1
Park Neighbors	3	—	5	—	2
Washington Family Descendants	1	—	5	—	2
Park Staff	1	—	6	—	4
Others	1	1	1	—	—
Total	6	2	23	4	9

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The report is divided into two sections. The first, including Chapters Two through Five, presents the environmental and ethnohistorical background of the study area in general, and the park properties in particular. The second section (Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight) presents the results of the ethnographic fieldwork, with separate chapters devoted to park neighbors, associated groups and The Wakefield National Memorial Association. The final chapter is concerned with recommendations for future research and interpretation at George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NATIVE WORLD

INTRODUCTION

George Washington Birthplace National Monument (GWB) is located on 551 acres in Colonial Beach, 38 miles east of Fredericksburg, Virginia. As noted in Chapter One, the region known as the Northern Neck, where GWB is located, is a narrow peninsula lying between the Potomac and the Rappahannock Rivers. The Northern Neck is characterized by two types of soil of varying fertility: Lenoir and Leaf silt loams, which drain poorly and are strongly acidic, and are only marginally suitable for agriculture, and Tetotum, Rumford, or State fine sandy loams, which are well-drained and fertile. In the fifteenth century A.D., Native American settlements on the Northern Neck were largely concentrated near the areas of greatest soil fertility (Potter 1993). European settlers also exploited these fertile soils, first for tobacco cultivation, and later for a wide variety of grain crops. Currently, the Lenoir and Leaf soils are covered in secondary, mixed hardwood and pine forest, while the loams are under cultivation, or used for pasture and lawns (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:2).

The Northern Neck owes its unique character to its proximity to the Chesapeake Bay. This enclosed body of water, linked to the ocean but supplied with fresh water from nineteen rivers, is nearly 190 miles long from north to south, and is one of the largest estuaries in the world. It encompasses numerous rivers, creeks, inlets, sounds, and coves, some of which are estuarine as well. GWB is located along the southern shore of the Potomac River, one of the principal rivers emptying into the Bay (see Map 4). The Park properties include one of the most pristine of the Potomac River tributary watersheds, at the mouth of Pope's Creek. The Potomac, which flows from its Piedmont source in West Virginia through Virginia's Coastal Plain, is influenced by tides southeast of Washington DC, and its salinity increases as it nears the Bay. The estuary of the Potomac is eleven miles wide between Point Lookout in Maryland and Smith's Point, Virginia. Park properties include significant wetlands typical of the estuarine ecosystems of the region, including the Longwood and Digwood swamps at the George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

The Chesapeake Bay is also one of the principal entryways to the interior reaches of the Atlantic Coastal Plain. For example, the Fall Line of Virginia, which separates the sandy Coastal Plain from the rocky Piedmont, runs roughly along present route I-95, and crosses the Potomac only near what is now Washington DC, 45 miles to the north and west, allowing river travel for some distance inland (Map 4).

The first recording sighting of the Chesapeake Bay by Europeans was in 1524, when Giovanni da Verrazano sailed along the Atlantic coast. He found that the breezes emanating from the mouth of the bay reminded him of “aromatic liquor.” He named the



Map 4: The Chesapeake Bay and the Northern Neck ca. 1681, showing present location of GWB. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Lawrence Slaughter Collection.

bay “Arcadia” (Wroth 1970:82-83, 136-137). Spanish explorers also identified the Chesapeake Bay on early maps, calling it “Bahia de Santa Maria.” A Spanish missionary, Brother Carrera, wrote that the Bay was

A great and beautiful port, and men who have sailed a great deal and have seen it say it is the best and largest port in the world. . . It is called the Bay of the Mother of God, and in it there are many deep-water ports, each better than the next. . . They say that at the end of it the other sea begins (Lewis and Loomie 1953:133).

Captain John Smith, the Bay’s most famous explorer, also extolled its virtues. He wrote that:

There is but one entrance by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18 or 20 myles broad. . . [it is] compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. . . This Bay lyeth north and south, in which the water floweth near 200 myles, and hath a channel for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fathome. . . farther off from the Bay are those mountains. . . drained by certaine brookes which after come to five principally navigable rivers. These run from the northwest into the southeast, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every river is within 20 or 15 myles one of another (Smith 1624:44-45).

Explorers including Smith and George Percy also remarked on the richness and variety of the estuarine resources of the Bay. They raved of “mussels and oysters which lay on the ground as thick as stones” and reported that the rivers were so “stored with sturgeon and other sweet fish as no man’s fortune ever possessed the like” (Percy 1608).

The biotic richness of the Bay and the rivers that supply it explains why the Northern Neck, where GWB is located, has been home to human populations for twelve thousand years. This history is typically divided by archeologists into three periods or stages: Paleoindian (10,000-8000 B.C.), Archaic (8000-1200 B.C.) and Woodland (1200 B.C.-400 A.D.). Each of these is characterized by distinctive technologies, subsistence practices, and settlement types, now well-documented by a century or more of archeological research.

THE PALEOINDIAN STAGE IN THE STUDY AREA

Paleoindian peoples have captured public imagination as big-game hunters, in pursuit of the mega-fauna of the late Pleistocene. Beautiful, leaf-shaped fluted points are the archeological signature of Paleoindian occupation, and these have been recovered

from sites all over North America, indicating a rapid growth and spread of the founding populations which reached the New World from Asia. Recent research has added to this basic picture, indicating that Paleoindian people created semi-permanent settlements, and exploited a wide range of plant and animal resources wherever they ventured.

Archeologists have identified twenty Paleoindian sites in Virginia's Coastal Plain, and some seventy-five sites for the entire state. These sites have yielded artifacts produced from cherts, jaspers, and silicified slates and include long-term camp sites, hunting stations, and quarries (Gardner 1989). To date, no direct evidence for the presence of Paleoindian people has been recovered in the study area, a result perhaps of the scarcity of preferred lithic resources. It is also possible that the earliest signs of human occupation in the area have been submerged by rising sea levels triggered by overall warming trends over the past ten millennia.

THE ARCHAIC STAGE AT GWB

Prehistorians divide the Archaic period or stage into three substages, Early (8000-6500 B.C.), Middle (6500-3000 B.C.) and Late (3000-1000 B.C.). As the climate warmed, new biotic communities and resources became available, triggering occupation of coastal regions and the consumption of a wider range of animals and plants. The Archaic period marks the beginning of intensive use of shellfish and other estuarine resources.

Technologies included both hafted and ground stone tools. Concentrations of locally available lithics at Archaic sites on the Northern Neck suggests more sedentism than had been true of earlier inhabitants of the region. There are five Archaic period component/sites at GWB. Sites 44WM257 and 44WM261 are Early-Late Archaic period campsites, with Late Woodland components superimposed upon them. The remaining three sites (44WM89, 44WM185, and 44WM252) are shell middens (densely packed concentrations of shell, usually resulting from long-term occupation of or collecting activities at a specific locality).

Late Archaic occupation of the Northern Neck is also documented at several sites along the lower Potomac (Waselkov 1982; Potter 1993). At GWB, Late Archaic deposits occur on the terraces adjacent to the mouths of Bridges' and Pope's Creek, as well as at small, short-term campsites (Jones et al. 1999). Several park neighbors and local landowners own extensive collections of artifacts, most acquired through surface

collection on plowed fields on and near GWB (interview with Clay Horner, 2007). Analysis of these collections may yield further information about Archaic stage occupation in the study area.

THE WOODLAND STAGE

Early Woodland Settlement Patterns²

By the beginning of the Early Woodland Stage, settlement patterns on the Northern Neck (as well as throughout the Chesapeake Tidewater) consisted of base camps that were linked to smaller, limited-purpose sites along the fall line. Prehistorians typically link the Woodland Stage with the introduction of new technologies and subsistence activities, notably the introduction of ceramics and the adoption of maize, beans, and squash horticulture. Hunting and gathering were still significant activities in the earliest centuries of this stage, associated with seasonal transhumance wherein bands from the Coastal Plain hunted along the Fall Line in late fall and early winter, while those who lived west of the Fall Line used that zone in late winter and early spring. This shared zone of interaction also suggests that community-oriented solutions to spatial problems made it difficult for individually-oriented “Big Men” to sustain long-term control (Mouer 1991:65-70; Gallivan 2003:53-54). Richard Dent suggests that “shared buffer zones may also have fostered some group interaction” (1995:230-31), although trade in lithics was less evident than in earlier periods (Jones 1999:15). In general, archeologists see a trend towards increasing sedentism and long term occupation of multi-season camp sites (Jones 1999:15). These substantial, residential sites were linked to smaller and more temporary procurement camp sites, especially those whose purpose was to exploit marine and estuarine resources. The White Oak Point site, 40-50 km. east of GWB, is an example of such a site. There are three early Woodland period sites at GWB which also illustrate these patterns: 44WM254, 44WM263, and 44WM272. All of these are camp sites. Surface collections on park properties and on neighboring properties also include Early Woodland Stage artifacts (interview with Dwight Storke, 2007)

² The Woodland Period is divided into the Early Woodland Period (1000 B.C.-300 B.C.); the Middle Woodland Period (300 B.C. to 900 A.D.), which is further subdivided into the Early (300 B.C. to A.D. 200), Middle (A.D. 200 to 900), and Late Middle Woodland (A.D. 900 to 1100); and the Late Woodland Period (1100 A.D. to 1607 A.D.), which is further subdivided into Late I (A.D. 1100 to 1300), and Late II (A.D. 1300 to 1607).

Middle Woodland Climate and Settlement

The Middle Woodland stage (300 B.C.-900 A.D.) is marked by the transition from dispersed, base-camp settlements to a pattern characterized by larger, sedentary villages. In the middle Atlantic region, this stage was also marked by the expansion of maize horticulture and a tendency to settlement nucleation and mound building (primarily in the Piedmont) and/or to the creation corporate ossuaries (Jones 1999:15; Dent 1995). Ossuaries, where the remains of many individuals are interred together, are thought by archeologists to signal a strong sense of group identity and an attachment to place.

Archeologist Stephen Potter suggests that the mixed-economy and scattered settlement pattern of the earliest centuries of this stage were related to “a period of environmental stress which occurred between A.D. 210 and 645 (roughly 1800 to 1400 BP [before present]) when temperatures were lower and there was less rain” (1993:100). Based on data from the Chicacoan district, 20 miles southeast of GWB on the Potomac River, Potter suggests a settlement model wherein small, family-sized collecting groups occupied seasonal sites, joining together into larger groupings at larger, serially occupied locations (1993:138). Potter believes that game was the primary protein staple at this time. Archeologists working on sites in the Lower James River suggest that this “fission-fusion model” was transformed over time in favor of more permanent settlements, and a similar pattern appears in the Chicacoan district as well (Potter 1993:140).

During the second half of the Middle Woodland, warmer temperatures and more rain probably contributed to a growth in settlement size and sedentism on the Coastal Plain. Previously uninhabited areas were also settled during this period, possibly due to increasing population pressure. Excavations on the Rappahannock River document such expanding Late Middle Woodland occupation. For example, the Woodbury Farm site (44RD48), on the northern shore of the Rappahannock in Richmond County, and the Boathouse Pond site in Northumberland County are large, shallow sites thought to be the remains of villages, where local or regional bands remained for several months of each year (Potter 1993:112). Both sites date from A.D. 500-900, and most likely from A.D. 700-900. An example of a Late Middle Woodland site on the Potomac side of the Northern Neck is the White Oak Point site (44WM119), in Westmoreland County just south of GWB at Nomini Bay. This is a large, multi-component midden was evidently occupied over many generations by shellfish gatherers. There have been no large sites representing the late Middle Woodland identified at GWB, but there are seven smaller

sites, including the Longwood Midden (44WM24, 44WM26), the Duck Hall Midden (44WM91), two smaller middens (44WM91, 44WM92), an artifact scatter (44WM250), and two camp sites (44WM270, 44WM273) (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:16).

THE LATE WOODLAND STAGE (900 A.D.-1600 A.D.)

Characteristics of the Late Woodland Stage include increasing sedentism, widespread use of ceramics, and dependence on cultivars such as corn, beans, and squash. Long-term settlements representing this stage were located near the most productive agricultural soils. Such a village site, known as the Indian Town Farm site (44LA80), is located on the east side of the Corotoman River, in Lancaster County, Virginia. This site was occupied from the beginning of the Late Woodland until the early seventeenth century. Settlements such as this were hubs from which seasonal forays took place for hunting, gathering of wild plants, fishing, and shellfish exploitation. Blanton and others suggest that in addition to such village-camp sites and large middens, smaller middens may represent individual family farmsteads occupied during this period (Blanton and Kandle 1997:33). Population expansion and intensive cultivation, linked phenomena, were undoubtedly tied to the warm, moist climate of the period. Furthermore, archeologists suggest that the period between 1050 and 1200 A.D. coincided with the Iroquoian expansion into the Great Lakes and to the time of florescence of the state-like Mississippian societies. These great social/political movements to the west undoubtedly affected coastal populations as well.

The period between 1250 and 1400 A.D, a period also known as the Little Ice Age, was noticeably cooler than at present (Blanton 2004; Carbone 1982). At the same time, Dennis Blanton argues that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not times of “uniform periodicity” and that this variability was a factor in social changes observed in the archeological record. He suggests that “the persistence of a seasonal fusion-fission pattern for many Indian communities, even into the seventeenth century, probably signals one response to conditions of climatic variability, primarily the insecurity of domesticated plant staple” (Blanton 2004:20). Unpredictable harvests and a decline in crop productivity due to temperature fluctuations and drought appear to have resulted in the breakup of large nucleated settlements; in their place, two types of sites

predominate—semi-permanent, intermediate-size settlements and temporary, small camps located near specific resources (Klein and Sanford: 2004:11; Gallivan 2003:83-87).

The archeological data suggest that household dispersal and an increased use of a wider range of non-domesticates, as well as control of resources by domestic groups were responses to unpredictable and unfavorable climatic conditions. Perhaps related to this response is a change in the distribution of subterranean storage pits. Such pits, which are often signs of a commitment to maize horticulture on Late Woodland sites, are common throughout the Potomac Tidewater region, but are not features of sites in the Chicacoan District, or more generally on the Northern Neck (Potter 1993:170). This leads Potter to suggest that storage may have been above ground, in storehouses or “treasuries” such as those described in the ethnohistorical literature. These “treasuries” are thought to be artifacts of a centralized redistributive system, such as was described for the Powhatan in the period of early European exploration and settlement. No such evidence has been uncovered at any Late Woodland I sites at GWB, which appear instead to be special use campsites and small middens (Harwood 2002:75).

On the Northern Neck, there is also evidence of in-migration, with resulting expressions of territoriality, represented by fortified sites such as Accokeek Creek and Potomac Creek (Blanton et al. 1998). The Potomac Creek site (44ST2) is a palisaded village overlooking the Potomac River in Stafford County, Virginia, possibly occupied as early as 1300 A.D. This site, along with the Accokeek Creek site (on the Potomac River in Prince George County) appears to be a “site unit intrusion” in the area (Potter 1993:136). Although opinions vary, most archeologists agree that these sites, and their outliers, were constructed by peoples, members of an archeological culture known as the Montgomery Complex, moving into the area from the Piedmont in what is now Montgomery County, Maryland sometime around A.D. 1300, and displacing the Rappahannock River people. The Montgomery Complex people lived in small hamlets and villages with central plazas, often situated on flood-plains suitable for the practice of swidden (slash and burn) horticulture. In addition to corn, beans, and squash, they cultivated and smoked tobacco, kept dogs, and manufactured distinctive, mineral-tempered, cord-marked pottery. The earliest group of sites where these people appear date to A.D. 900-1300 (Potter 1993:126-127). Potomac Creek ceramics have been found at GWB, suggesting that at least, the earlier inhabitants of the Northern Neck were engaged in trade with the Montgomery Complex people. At GWB, Late Woodland I sites include one component

of the Longwood Midden (44WM24 and 26), and the small midden/farmstead site known as 44WM89. Campsites of this period at GWB include one component of 44WM257 and 44WM257, a single component campsite (44WM274) and one component of a shell midden and camp site (44WM273) (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:75).

LATE WOODLAND II: SOCIAL COMPLEXITY AND COMPETITION

It is during the stage known as Late Woodland II, or the Terminal Late Woodland, that archeologists see the origins of the centralized, chiefly societies of the Chesapeake region known to the earliest English settlers in the Chesapeake region, such as the Potomac Valley Chiefdoms (Potter 1993) and the Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom (Rountree 1989; Gleach 1997; Williamson 2003). The rise of chiefly societies and of social complexity generally is the subject of a large body of archeological research in the Chesapeake region, and the Northern Neck, where GWB is located, was a region where many of the processes debated by scholars were apparently played out. For example, Klein and Sanford interpret the archeology of the Terminal Late Woodland on the Northern Neck according to a model of interaction involving peer polities in asymmetrical relationships, which were ideologically and socially driven rather than economically motivated (2004:49).

Archeological evidence for this perspective is found in the widespread distribution of prestige goods such as copper (symbolically mediating black and white), and shell (mediating sky and water) on archeological sites throughout the Northeast. Influences derived first from Cahokia, the powerful society located in modern-day Illinois (ca. 1300 A.D.), and then from the society dwelling at the site known as Moundville, in Alabama (ca. 1400 A.D.) are reflected in the presence of trade items. In the Tidewater and elsewhere on the Coastal Plain during this time there appears to have been an emphasis on group identity in the continued use of ossuary burials in the Coastal Plain (Klein and Sanford 2004:56). Examples of these are the Mount Airy Ossuary (44RD3) located south and east of GWB, and another site discovered by amateur archeologists at Kilmarnock, Virginia, 60 miles east-southeast of GWB.

Archeologists believe that the emergence of status hierarchy in both the Southeast and the Middle Atlantic coincided with the production and exchange of shell

ornaments. The volume and extent of shell trade increased in the Late Woodland, and Northern Neck societies were “ideally situated for this trade” (Klein and Sanford 2004:57). This trade in symbolic items was accompanied by the exchange of stone and ceramics, and the extraction of shell and copper were likely integrated into subsistence practices and tool manufacture on a local level as well. A balanced, regional reciprocity existed in the exchange of prestige items, as copper was mined from the Blue Ridge, while shell came from lower Potomac River. The shell trade was both in raw materials, and in manufactured forms including beads of various shapes, and highly symbolic forms such as human maskettes, reflecting ties with southeastern societies. On the Northern Neck, the White Oak Point site (44WM119, ca. A.D. 1400-1500) at Nomini Bay shows “evidence of shell mask production” (Klein and Sanford 2004:58). Klein and Sanford also report that Northern Neck villages appear after A.D. 1200 accompanied by increasing diversity of ceramic designs “signaling belief and identity” (Klein and Sanford 2004:58).

Scholars have concluded that the Terminal Late Woodland period in the Tidewater was characterized by an increase in household size and increasing diversity of house form, as evidence for population growth (Gallivan 2004: 43). The population density that characterized the Chesapeake region in the century prior to the arrival of Europeans was reflected in the term used by Powhatan people to refer to their region, *Tsenacomoco*, thought to mean the “densely inhabited place” (Strachey 1612:37, 56; Gallivan 2003:158-60). David Beers Quinn suggests that the word *Tsenacomoco* shares the same root as Algonquian word “*asam-ahkamikwi*,” which means “the land opposite” or “facing.” The root *Ahkamikwi* means “land dwelt upon,” “dwelling house,” or “house site.” The “*tsen*” prefix means “close together,” so that *Tsenacomoco* can be thought of as a place where people live close together (Quinn 1985:854).

Students of the period also agree that the indigenous Algonquian-speaking groups residing in the Chesapeake area during the sixteenth century exhibited increasing social and political complexity as well as some centralization (Rountree 1990; Potter 1993; Gleach 1997; Gallivan 2003). Potter (1993:19) discusses the complexities of Native alliances and diplomacy along the banks of the Potomac. It is likely that at the time of Smith’s explorations (see below), the Patowomecks were attempting to maintain their autonomy with regard to the Massawomecks, the Powhatans and the groups of Conoys of which the Piscataway Paramount Chiefdom was one. Groups were governed by village

level werowances, although Patawomeck oral tradition suggests their leaders at this time, particularly Japasaws, were powerful on their own.

Archeology in the Chicacoan District of the Northern Neck, 20 miles south and east of GWB along the southern shore of the Potomac River, provides a wealth of information about population dynamics and social change in the century preceding the arrival of Europeans there. Steven Potter argues that sites dating to the period after 1500 A.D. show evidence of increasing social and political centralization, and a turn towards social complexity. This is consistent with the reports of early European explorers who were told of native “kings” who for thirteen generations prior to their arrival had lived on the Eastern Shore, and had commanded all the peoples of Maryland as well as those of the Northern Neck (Potter 1993:149).

Among the factors Potter believes contributed to the “basic cultural pattern” of the Chesapeake chiefdoms described by early European explorers and settlers was the role in trade played by such native leaders (known as *tayacs* in what is now Maryland and the Eastern Shore and *werowances* among the Powhatans) (see also Gallivan 2004). Potter suggests that these leaders strictly controlled access to prestige goods and other resources, and used their access to shell and other wealth items to enhance their own power and prestige. Potter suggests that newly-emerging chiefly societies are represented archeologically at the sites that make up the Potomac Creek complex, whose members have been the precursors of the seventeenth century “nation” known as the Piscataways (including their associated groups the Nacotchtanks, Pamunkeys, Nangemoys, Potapocos, Tauxenents and Patawomekes) (Potter 1993:150). Two seventeenth-century native villages in the region, Nacotchtank, and Patawomeke, had names translating roughly as “trading places,” indicating their central place in regional exchange networks and explaining, perhaps, their centrality within the Potomac chiefly system (Potter 1993:160).

At the same time, dense population, and the pressures caused by proximity to hostile neighbors, especially those occupying territories to the west of the Fall Line, which limited mobility, were also factors that likely led to increased centralization of authority (Potter 1993:167). Palisaded villages also appeared between 1200 and 1500 A.D. in the region (Gallivan 2004:43), as evidence of mounting social tension. Linguistic

and cultural differences are likely to have increased tensions as well.³ Several authors have suggested that the (presumably) Algonquian-speaking peoples of the lower Potomac Valley and Virginia's Tidewater came increasingly into conflict with non-Algonquian polities who claimed control over, or who were active in the region. These included the Monacans and Monahoacs (Hantman 1990, 1993), (putatively) Siouan speakers from beyond the Fall Line, and the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks and Massawomecks (Pendergast 1991). Certainly a number of European explorers were told that Susquehannock raiding parties were harassing Algonquian villages along the Patuxent and Potomac rivers in the early seventeenth century. The Massawomecks, "Mortall enemies," of the Susquehannocks, traded with some Eastern Shore groups in the Tangier Sound region, while attacking other groups at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, including the Algonquians of the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers and the Manahoacs of the north central piedmont of Virginia. The Manahoacs and their allies the Monacans both traded and clashed with the Algonquians living near the fall line from north of the Rappahannock River to the James River.

Steven Potter hypothesizes that the Potomac and Rappahannock Algonquian peoples were establishing defensive postures towards all these groups, as well as towards the emerging Powhatan polity in the early decades of the seventeenth century (1993:177). Potter suggests, for example, that in order to avoid the annihilation reportedly visited on the Chesapeakes or Kecoughtans, villagers moved from the south to the north bank of the Rappahannock (Strachey 1612:43-44, 67,104). Thus, at the time of Smith's explorations, the Northern Neck may have been one of the most densely populated regions in the Tidewater. Given the distribution of soils suitable for agriculture, and available fresh water, a distinctive, linear settlement pattern emerged,

³ Central and eastern Algonquian proto-languages split at least 3,000 years ago (Goddard 1978:586-87). The eastern Algonquian subfamily includes the languages spoken from Maine to North Carolina (Siebert 1975:440-44). By the sixteenth century native peoples of the Chesapeake Tidewater spoke a series of related eastern Algonquian languages (Goddard 1978:73-74). Waterways promoted contacts and communications between groups along an east-west continuum so that all Potomac River dialects were closely related. However, the farther north or south one traveled, the greater the linguistic differences (Rountree 1989:8). Seventeenth-century descriptions of the native languages of the Tidewater report a number of distinct languages and dialects in the region. One early writer said of the Outer Banks that "The language of every government is different from any other, and the farther they are distant the greater is the difference" (Hariot 1590:25). John Smith also noted several groups, including the Monacans, the Manahoacs, and the Susquehannocks, who could not "speake the language of Powhatan" (1612:231).

with the people of various chiefdoms “spread[ing] themselves over the landscape as a means of asserting their control over the narrow band of prime agricultural land lining that side of the river (Potter 1993:177).

THE ARCHEOLOGY OF MORTUARY RITUAL

As the leadership of *werowances* became firmly enmeshed into Tidewater Algonquian culture, complex mortuary rituals developed as a status enhancement for *werowances*. Successive generations of *werowances* could point to the places where their ancestors lay buried as proof of their family’s longevity as rulers. As the connection deepened between people and place, however, burial customs became less restrictive and eventually entire communities participated (Gallivan 2003:124). What appear to have been high-status burials were accompanied by copper items, as this highly valued metal emerged as a new symbol of spiritual power.⁴

In general, however, mortuary ritual as expressed at sites on the Northern Neck implies an increasingly hierarchical social organization, and perhaps the emergence of lineages as corporate groups. The signaling of lineage status was apparently a factor in the development of chiefdoms in other areas of the Northeast as well (e.g., Kevin McBride, personal communication, 2005), and is consistent with ethnohistorical descriptions of social organization among some Chesapeake Bay societies in the early seventeenth century.

Some scholars (e.g., Fausz 1985:235) have suggested that the rise of the complex chiefdoms of the Potomac Valley and Tidewater Virginia was the outcome of events set in motion by the arrival of Europeans. For example, as noted above, native copper became an increasingly important trade item in the Northeast after 1500 and the new sources for copper provided by European explorers and traders in the region during the sixteenth century are likely to have destabilized the status-based control of scarce goods noted in contact situations elsewhere, engendering the kind of competition which often leads to the centralization of political and/or military authority. On the other hand, at

⁴ There are numerous seventeenth century sources documenting the value of copper to native societies of the Chesapeake (e.g., Strachey 1612:145). The role of copper and its distribution is also the subject of a large secondary literature (e.g. Klein and Sanford 2004:9, 11, 14, 16; Potter 1993:180-81; Gallivan 2003:15, 158, 165; Hantman 1990; Hantman and Gold 2001:281-90; Quinn 1985:114, 177-78)

Indian Fields, large amounts of European trade exchange items in early seventeenth century A.D. ossuary burials suggest “increased access to exchange goods by the community as a whole” (Potter 1989:157). Potter also found that copper flowing out of Jamestown created a temporary crisis within the social and political hierarchy of James River chiefdoms. Leaders controlled access to prestige goods, but over time, the fur trade allowed greater access by low ranking individuals contributing to the decline in the power of the *werowances* (Potter 1989:267).

Most archeologists agree, however, that contact with Europeans was merely an accelerant for the processes of social and political change already in motion in the Chesapeake region. As Steven Potter argues:

The development of centralized native polities was the result of a process that combined social, political, economic, and religious customs and ideas, integrating them into a basic cultural pattern shared by most of the sixteenth century southern Algonquian societies of the Chesapeake Bay and Carolina sounds region (1993:164).

THE NORTHERN NECK: CENTER OR PERIPHERY?

The Powhatan paramount chieftaincy, one of the most well-known of all the North American societies described by Europeans in the seventeenth century, was, in spite of its complexity and extent, an “evanescent social entity,” one which came into being scarcely a century prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Chesapeake, and which was directly linked to the power, prestige, and charisma of the principal leader or *mamanatowick*, known as Powhatan or Wahensenucaw (Gallivan 2006:8). By the early seventeenth century, Powhatan ruled over an association of twenty-eight to thirty-four small, semi-autonomous political groups, each with its own chief. Powhatan inherited leadership over some of these groups, and gained control of others by right of conquest (Williamson 2003:47). The chief residential units into which these smaller groups were organized were clusters of larger and smaller hamlets, linked to the “king’s houses” from which local leaders governed. The map produced by John Smith, based on voyages undertaken in 1608 and 1612 accurately locates and names these “king’s houses” and surrounding hamlets, and archeologists’ investigations have confirmed the location of many of them. The region south of the Rappahannock River was heart of Powhatan’s domain, centering on the tidal York and James Rivers. The Algonquian-speaking people

living along the Rappahannock River and south of the Potomac, including the Patawomecks and Tauxenents, however, may not have been part of Powhatan's domain (Rountree 1989:13-15). Scholars also remain divided about the relative independence of the peoples of the Potomac valley, who in some early explorer's accounts appear to be acting from a position of strength, and in others merely caught between powerful groups on their northern, western, and southern borders (Potter 1993:180).

Klein and Sanford argue, based on the distribution of native goods on archeological sites of the terminal Late Woodland on the Northern Neck, and on descriptions in early European accounts, that Virginia's native people were more oriented through trade towards polities towards the north, and not to the south. Further, early descriptions imply differences between the Powhatan chiefdom, which grew through conquest, and that of the Conoy, which grew through alliance (2004:61). Other groups on the Coastal Plain were characterized by resistance to larger authorities (2004:61).

Klein and Sanford also take issue with Gallivan's model of settlement, which suggests, based on Smith's map, that settlement was "a uniformly dispersed spacing of politically influential king's houses" (2004:62). In fact, they argue, the cluster of settlements on the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Rivers, and on the north side of the Rappahannock River, belie this pattern. Instead, they suggest that the sites on the Rappahannock River, located between the early seventeenth-century Conoy chiefdom of the Potomac Valley fall zone and the Powhatan confederacy, were chosen as safe havens, rather than for their suitability for agriculture or for defense. In support of this theory they contrast the dense settlement of the upper and lower Rappahannock, where settlement was more dispersed (2004:63). The clustering of settlements in the upper Rappahannock River may also speak to its central location in the Chesapeake trade system, with its direct route to the northern Blue Ridge and access to the Great Valley Trail (2004:64).

Since settlement concentration on the upper reaches of the Northern Neck in the sixteenth century A.D. was an artifact of social positioning, or a reflection of trading patterns, they argue, it was susceptible to the effects of fluctuating exchange. The establishment of Jamestown diverted Powhatan from expansion while providing him with a new source of copper, thereby supporting the position of the Native inhabitants of the Northern Neck within the regional system.

There are several archeological sites on the Northern Neck thought to be the remains of sixteenth-century settlements, including two villages described on Smith's map of 1612. These are Indian Town Farm (44LA80) and the Woodbury Farm site (44RD48 and 44RD49). Both of these sites are located near rich estuaries on the Rappahannock's southern bank. Potter links Indian Town, still marked on maps of the area dating to the nineteenth century, to the seventeenth-century Cuttatawomens, and it may have been hamlet known as Chesakawon, marked on John Smith's map (Potter 1993:178). Woodbury Farm is located where the village Oquomack, also noted on Smith's map, was thought to be. This hamlet may have been one of those controlled by the Moraughtacund (or Moratico). Certainly the Moraughtacunds were living nearby on Farnham Creek in the later seventeenth century.

The Accokeek Creek site, the Potomac Creek site, and the Indian Point site (44ST1) in Stafford County, Virginia, were heavily fortified by the beginning decades of the fifteenth century. Potter suggests that the "unstable and predatory" nature of chiefdoms made fortification necessary not only to defend against hostile Siouan and Iroquoian peoples, but from other Algonquian-speaking groups in the Potomac region. A century later, John Smith described villages in the vicinity of Accokeek Creek as the principal villages of the Patawomekes. The Patawomekes occupied nine outlying hamlets on the Aquia and Potomac Creeks, accounting for 650-850 people. At the time of Smith's voyages, the *werowance* of the Patawomeke controlled access to the antimony mine at Aquia Creek as well.

Some sense of the lifeways of the native peoples of the Northern Neck in the decades preceding and following the arrival of European explorers and settlers in the Chesapeake comes from the Camden National Historic Landmark, in Caroline County, Virginia (Hodges and Turner 1985). This site occupies 1,400 acres along the southern shore of the Rappahannock River, 50 km below the falls at what is now Fredericksburg, Virginia. The Landmark is best known as the site of Camden, "one of the most complete and best preserved Italianate country houses in America." However, archeological investigations ongoing since 1964 indicate native presence at the site during much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nineteen sites on the property reflect native occupation, including a large sixteenth-century village.

Although some Late Woodland period and Protohistoric/Contact period ceramics have been located at the park, there are no archeological sites at the George

Washington Birthplace National Monument that document the full panoply of Late Woodland II cultural characteristics. However, given the dense population on the Northern Neck in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., it is likely that people hunted, fished, and gathered shellfish on the properties now occupied by the park during this period. Small, single season or outlying “farmsteads” were located there as well, represented by fire pits, artifact scatters, and middens, including those recorded from the upper components of the Longwood Midden sites (44WM24 and 26), and 44WM89. Campsites of this period at GWB include one component of 44WM257, a single-component campsite (44WM274), and one component of a shell midden and campsite (44WM273) (Harwood 2002:75). Surface collections on Park properties and those that surround them by members of the Horner family include native hoes and digging tools which seem to support this analysis (interview with Clay Horner, 2007).

In the sixteenth century A.D. Native Americans were drawn into the expanding European world economic system (Wolf 1984). In the North Atlantic, long-distance fishing and fur trading expeditions among the French appear in the records as early as 1508 (Turgeon 1998). French vessels bartered knives, fishhooks, and shirts for 1000 marten skins in the Chesapeake in the late sixteenth century (Trigger and Swagerty 1996:352). Trade motivated the establishment of the Spanish mission at Ajacan on the York River in 1570 (Gradie 1993) and Raleigh’s English colony at Roanoke in what is now North Carolina (Quinn 1985). Search for a seagoing route to the Orient also drove exploration of the Chesapeake Bay (Quinn 1985), motivating Menendez de Aviles to explore there in 1546.

ARCHEOLOGY INTO ETHNOHISTORY: THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE NORTHERN NECK IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The earliest documented meetings between the Native American people of the Northern Neck and Europeans included the exploratory voyage of Captain Vincente Gonzalez, in 1588, who met a *werowance* on the Potomac River bedecked with copper ornaments. In 1604, a ship probably captained by Christopher Newport or Bartholemew Gilbert took several Rappahannock natives captive and killed their leader. In 1606 another *werowance* of the Rappahannock was captured and killed by Europeans, possibly led by Samuel Mace (Potter 1993:164) (see also Chapter Seven).

Captain John Smith's first expedition up the Potomac and throughout the upper Chesapeake Bay lasted from June 2 to July 21, 1608. The second expedition excluded the Potomac and covered the rest of the bay from Jamestown to the Susquehanna River in present-day Pennsylvania. The second voyage also explored the Rappahannock River extensively. Smith's narrative of his 1608 explorations of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers includes the following passage describing the settlements on the Northern Neck:

The third navigable river is called Toppahanock (This is navigable some 130 myles). At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoackes amongst the mountains, but they are above the place we describe. Upon the river on the North side are seated a people called Cuttatawomen, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the river are the Moraughtacunds, with 80 able men. Beyond them [are the] Toppahanock with 100 men. Far above is another Cuttatawomen with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is Nantaughtacund having 150 men. This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule. The fourth river is called Patawomeke and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. It is navigable 140 miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hills. These hills many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco and hath some 130 men, beyond them Sekacawone with 30. The Onawmanient with 100. Then Patawomeke with 160 able men (Smith 1612).

Smith's map depicts five discrete groups of Indians on the Northern Neck: the Matchotic, centered on Nomini Bay: the Pissaseck, with a principal village near Leedstown, and including the smaller settlements at Kerahocack, Nawacaten, Mangoraca, Wecuppom, Matchopick and one other (Map 5). Cuttatawomen II was a district that included ten villages. Eight of these were on the Rappahannock River, with the principal village at Cuttatawomen, and including Masowoteck, Sockobeck, Waconiask, Monanask, Assuweska, Papiscone, and one other. On the Machodoc Creek were two other villages, one known as Ozaiawomen. The Potomac people were located in ten villages along the river, including the villages of Potomac, Quiough, and Matakunt. The Does, part of a chiefdom on the western bank of the Potomac, had a principal village at Tauzenant below the falls of the Potomac, as well as at Namoraughquen, Assamock, Namassignakent and Pamacoack. Smith's observations are confirmed by the charts produced by Tindall (1608), Velasco (1610), and Zuniga (1608).



Map 5: Detail from Smith's Map (1612).
Courtesy of the College of William and Mary.

Population Estimates

As the Jamestown plantation's military commander from 1607 until his departure in 1609, John Smith also took care to note the number of warriors or "bowmen" for each Native community that he encountered. In 1610, William Strachey made a similar count. Strachey's numbers differ from Smith's only at times when Strachey had visited the particular community and counted them for himself. Strachey did not visit the communities along the Potomac River (Smith 1612:146-148; Strachey 1612:63-69). Neither included in their counts women, children, or men beyond fighting age. Nor is it clear that Smith or Strachey made an effort to count all of the warriors in each village, town, and hamlet. Also, the counts for the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, which were farther away from English settlement and visited less frequently by English traders

and explorers, are less detailed than are those counts for the James and York Rivers. Nevertheless, these two warrior counts are the basis for Algonquian population estimates in Virginia. At best, the numbers provided by Smith and Strachey are rough estimates of bowmen who were present when the Englishmen visited their villages. At worst, they are conservative estimates that omit absent warriors and overlook entire communities. It is reasonable to assume that not all men were present for such visits.

In spite of the gaps in his estimates, the data provided by Smith provide a basis from which population estimates can be made for some of the communities in or near the study area and for the Tidewater as a whole. Smith recorded that “[w]ithin 60 miles of James Towne there are about 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500” (1612:160). Assuming, as Smith did, a 3:10 ratio of warriors to general population leads to an estimate of 14,000 for the Tidewater region. Data from Christian Feest (1973), Randy Turner (1982), Douglas Ubelaker, (1974:69), and Stephen Potter (1993:32-40) support these conservative estimates.

Others have provided dramatically higher population counts. For example, J. Leitch Wright speculates that before European contact, the population of *Tsenacomoco* was “170,000 and perhaps more” (1981:24). Helen Rountree is skeptical, noting that “[t]he effects of epidemics on the sixteenth century mid-Atlantic Coast are impossible to assess at present. They did occur in North Carolina and very probably occurred in Virginia, whose people were friendly with Carolina natives. But no specific Virginia Indian reference to them is found in any English records, and archeology has as yet turned up no tangible evidence” (1990:279 n.5).

GWB Study Area Population Estimates

When Smith mapped the Potomac River, he recorded the populations of the groups he encountered there. Beginning at the river’s entrance “on the south side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco, and which hath some 130 fighting men; beyond that is Cekakawwon with 30 men; then Onawmanient [Machodoc] with 100 men; the Patawomeck with 160 able men.” Above Aquia Creek, and effectively outside the study area, Smith counted the “Tauxenent with 40 men.” Then, “on the north side of this river is Cecomocomoco with 40 men; somewhat farther [downriver] is Potapoco with 20 men. . . Pamacocack with 60 men; after, Moyoones with 100 men; and lastly Nacothtanck with 80 able men” (Smith 1612:146-147). Thus, from the Wiccocomoco communities

Table 1: Native Population Figures (from Norris 1983:24)

Chiefdom	1608	1669	1702	1705	First/Last Mentioned
Rappahannock	520	234	—	few	1608/present
Cuttatawomen II	200	42	—	—	1606/11, 1652/69
Matchotic	425	212	—	—	
Pissasec	280	212	—	21	1608/1722
Potomac	850	—	—	—	1608/1666
Doeg	—	170	—	—	1608/1720

near the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay to the Patawomeck communities near Aquia Creek, Smith counted 420 warriors, suggesting that 2100 people lived along the south bank of the Potomac River in the early seventeenth century.

Settlement Patterns

What is not clear is whether Smith's count reflects some number of warriors from the capital towns he visited, or if his count was meant to be inclusive of all villages along the river. This uncertainty carries over to the river population as a whole. While capital towns could be quite large, most of the population lived in the smaller hamlets that were near favored fishing, hunting, or gathering locations. Smith noted that there was a wide variance, from one to one hundred, in the number of house structures in any given village. Smith further estimated that from six to twenty people lived in each house (Smith 1612:162). Gabriel Archer, from his travels along the James River in May 1607, "guesse[d]" that native villages were organized "by families of kindred and allyance some 40tie or 50tie [or eight to ten bowmen] in a Hatto or village"(Archer 1969:103). Of the two, Archer's comments are more helpful because he estimates populations, but Smith speaks to the variety of indigenous communities along Virginia's tidal rivers. Taken together, Smith and Archer suggest that villages were organized internally along kinship lines and connected to the larger group through extended kin networks and a common dialect. The significant variable seems to have been the size and status of the particular family and their alliances that inhabited a town, be it a smaller hamlet or capital town.

This dispersed pattern of settlement created several levels of identity. As inhabitants of *Tsenacomoco*, the Rappahannock shared broad cultural values with other

Chesapeake Algonquians. These included common ceremonial practices, shared oral traditions, and familiar survival skills. Across the region local group identities developed over several hundred years as extended family networks became firmly connected to a particular place on the river. People also identified themselves with their village, whether that was the capital town or any of the nearby hamlets in the river valley. Within villages and hamlets, individuals first identified with their matrilineage and then with their household. One's relationship, then, to families, communities, and polities, was a tightly integrated network of kinship and exchange (Gallivan 2003:176).

Historically, geographic regions that include a variety of ecological niches—wooded uplands, arable plains, freshwater, marshes, and tidal estuaries—generally resulted in self-sufficient communities with internal lines of descent (Sahlins 1958:214). As communities grew, they stressed the resources of a particular location. When this happened, “daughter” settlements emerged in nearby locations as original communities spun off members who relocated to an ecologically similar niche nearby. This system of “contagious distribution” reflects the power of ecological niches to connect people, through descent lines, to a particular place (Rountree 1989:92-93). This pattern seems to obtain on the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. On the Potomac River, new villages were usually located on the river above or below the parent village.

It is unclear whether, in the late sixteenth century, the native communities on the Northern Neck and in nearby areas were part of some kind of larger political or cultural entity. The distribution of wealth items on sites of the terminal Late Woodland, for example, is uneven. The Mount Airy Ossuary deposits discussed above contained numerous European glass beads, copper bells and buttons, copper and iron bracelets (McCary 1950; Miller et al. 1983:127), but Pullins found few European artifacts at site 44RD50 in Richmond County, a site associated with the Rappahannock Indian town called Middle Field (1992). Similarly, Duncan investigated another seventeenth-century Native settlement at Menokin Bay which contained no European artifacts (2001). These data suggest that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries A.D. certain communities, leaders, or lineages were controlling access to wealth items such as copper, and later, European trade goods. Klein and Sanford argue that the concentration of people on Northern Neck was an artifact of the competition among emerging polities on the major river drainages, reflecting the temporary preeminence of copper as a trade item in the early seventeenth century. Thus, since shifts in the value and distribution of

prestige goods and the distribution of population across the landscape had occurred before the arrival of Europeans, the “contingent events” of English colonization was more pressure than the system could bear (2004:70- 73). This competition and its destabilizing effects can also be understood in terms of early ethnographic descriptions of the area, to be described in the following section.

TIDEWATER ALGONQUIANS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Early Native-European Encounters on the Northern Neck

Captain John Smith reported the following on his arrival at Nomini Bay, home to the Matchotic, just 10 miles south and east of GWB, on June 16, 1608:

They made many bravadoes, but to appease their furie, our Captaine prepared with a seeming willingness . . . to encounter them, the grazing of bullets upon the river, with the ecco of the woods so amazed them as down went their bows and arroewes; (and exchanging hostage) James Wilkins was sent 8 myles up the woods to their Kings habitation; we were kindly used there by these Salvages, of whom we understood, they were commaunded to betray us, by Powhatans direction, and he so directed from the discontents of Jamestowne.

Even closer to George Washington Birthplace National Monument was the “King’s House” at Onawmanient (near Kinsale, Virginia). During Smith’s first voyage, two Indians led Smith and his men up “a little bayed creek” toward Onawmanient, where an ambush awaited them. Smith described the Indians as “so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shooting, yelling, and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have showed more terrible.” As usual, the boom of the guns caused the Indians to cease fire and, as usual, hostages were exchanged. The Englishman James Watkins was taken “six miles up the woods to their king’s habitation.”

Rappahannock River Settlements

On the Northern Neck’s southern boundary, Smith found a number of settlements along the Rappahannock, a “goodly navigable river.” The Rappahannock Nation’s website (<http://indians.vipnet.org/tribes/rappahannock.cfm>) suggests that their territories included lands now within the bounds of Richmond, Northumberland, Lancaster, Essex and Caroline counties. It is thought that their principal settlement and “King’s House” was located by Smith at Dancing Point, near Warsaw, Virginia. Smith met the leader of the Rappahannocks, known as Toppahanoke, while a captive of the

Powhatan leader Opechancanough. During the earliest period of English settlement in the region, the Rappahannocks were living on the north side of the eponymous river with their main town on Cat Point Creek.⁵

Smith called the Rappahannocks a “peevish nation” but recorded that their land was “excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, [and] fertile” (1608). Smith had been warned by a Patawomeck guide, named Mosco, that the Rappahannocks were angry at the Moraughtacunds, who had stolen three of their “king’s” women, and who would take a hostile view of Smith because he had shown friendship to the Moraughtacunds. Smith judged this to be an attempt by Mosco to restrict the English trade to Mosco’s friends and promptly proceeded up river.

When Smith made contact with the Rappahannocks, they exchanged hostages. The English hostage Anas Todkill, while in the custody of the Indians, attempted a reconnaissance, and, when he discovered several hundred Indians waiting in ambush, called out to Smith. His captors attempted to carry him away, and the Indian hostage leapt off Smith’s boat. A crew member named Watkins “slew him in the water,” and Smith’s men fired the rail guns at the men who held Todkill. The Indians shot arrows, then scattered, and Todkill was rescued by the crew.

The English followed the Indians into the woods, and reported that “we found some slain and in divers places much blood. . . their canoes we took. The arrows we found we broke. . .” (Haile 1998:269-270). Smith gave the canoes and some arrows to Mosco. Following Mosco’s advice, Smith had used Massawomeck targets, “which are made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of their hemp and silk grass as is our cloth, but so firmly that no arrow can possibly pierce them.” These targets, set along the front of the boat, had sheltered the English from the Indian arrows and, held as shields, had given the English a strategic technological advantage in rescuing Todkill.

Smith described Pisacack, Matchopeak, and Mecupponi as “three towns situated on high white, clay cliffs—the other side a low plain marsh, and the river there but narrow.” Below present-day Leedstown are one hundred feet of cliffs. At that place, the Rappahannocks attacked again, and, again, the Massawomeck targets deflected the Indian arrows. The English fired a volley of shot; the Indian natives dropped to the

⁵ Presently, the Virginia Department of Transportation wants to build a higher bridge over the creek to the dismay of wildlife experts concerned about the bald eagles’ pristine setting there (interview with James Latane I).

ground, then, when the English were a half a mile away, the Indians rose and tauntingly sang and danced.

As they continued up the Rappahannock, Smith and his crew were treated hospitably by the *werowances* of Pissaseck, Nantaughtacund, and Cuttawomen. Beyond there, another crewmember named Master Fetherstone died, on an island that local historians believe was near Leedstown. When the English had traveled up the river as far as they were able, they skirmished with the Indians again and, finding a wounded Indian, Amoroleck, a brother of Hasinninga, one of the kings of the Mannahocks, took him aboard and had the surgeon treat him. Amoroleck told the English that his people had “heard we were a people come from under the world to take their world from them” (Haile 1998:272). In answer to English questions, he said he knew three worlds, Powhatan, Monacan, and Massawomeck, that beyond the mountains was the sun, and [thereafter] he knew nothing else because the woods were not burnt (Smith, or someone, had added a note in the margin that Indians couldn’t travel where the woods weren’t burnt). Hasinninga’s brother claimed that his people were friendly with the Monacans, and, like them, lived in “hilly countries by small rivers, living upon roots and fruits, but chiefly by hunting and fishing” (Haile 1998: 272).

That night, the “king” of Hasinninga and his men followed Smith’s boat twelve miles downstream, shooting arrows at it. At dawn, Amoroleck talked to his tribesmen. Smith told the Indians to tell their king that the English king wanted to be their friend; soon after, the four kings of the Mannahocks came and traded bows, arrows, tobacco bags, and pipes for English goods.

Returning to Moraughtacund, Smith described his “victory” over the Mannahocks and told the Moraughtacunds that he would destroy the Rappahannocks’ houses, and corn, unless they gave him the *werowance*’s bows, arrows, and son as a pledge of friendship with the Moraughtacunds.

The *werowances* of Natantacund and Pissaseck met with Smith at the place they had first fought and the Rappahannock leader, claiming only one son, whom he could not spare, said he would give the Moraughtacunds back the three women they had stolen. Smith gave the Rappahannock, then Moraughtacund, then Mosco the woman each loved the best, and they all feasted on venison and other provisions. Mosco changed his name to Uttasantasough, meaning “stranger” or “English.” A trade agreement between Smith and the Indians of the Rappahannock River promised

friendship and corn, especially planted for the English, in exchange for hatchets, beads, and copper. Thus, playing tribe off against tribe, Smith managed to create peace among them, as well as between the Indians and the English, and to establish favorable trade terms for the English.

In the decade following the establishment of the English colony at Jamestown, trading missions made contact with Indian communities in what is now Maryland and northern Virginia. In 1610, Samuel Argall was dispatched to the Potomac, to trade for corn. At the village of Patowmeke, further up the Rappahannock River, Argall discovered the English youth, Henry Spelman. Spelman was returned to the English, and thereafter served as an interpreter and trader to the Potomac River villages until his murder by the Anacostans in 1623. One of Spelman's crewmembers, named Fleet, survived this attack by the Anacostans, and later became a trader and interpreter in his own right. Fleet worked in the region for nearly thirty years, trading for maize and skins. This trade remained relatively stable, as the native people of the Northern Neck and the Potomac River who did not participate in the uprisings in 1622 and 1644 (see below) were cooperative trading partners.

Aside from writings by John Smith and William Strachey, Henry Spelman's account (1613) is the most important ethnographic source for the native people of the Northern Neck region (see his "Relation" in Appendix C). Spelman arrived in Virginia in 1609, and was soon given in exchange by John Smith to Powhatan, along with another Englishman, Thomas Savage. After witnessing Powhatan's execution of a group of English soldiers under Captain Ratcliffe, Spelman attached himself to a visiting Potomac River *werowance* named Iopassus, and followed him to the village of Paspatanzie, a hamlet within Patowomeck territory, where he remained until rescued by Captain Samuel Argyll in 1610. By this time, Powhatan had removed himself from his principal seat at Werowocomoco in Purtan Bay on the York River, to Orapaks, at the head of the Chickahominy River. Spelman's account contains information not found in other early sources, which may be due to his greater familiarity with the peoples of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. Spelman's descriptions (which include a short word list) also suggest that these people were culturally and linguistically distinct from the Powhatan.

Horticulture as a “Total Social Phenomenon”

On the Potomac River, Henry Spelman remembered the ceremony that marked the planting of “ye Kings corne.” A particular day was set when a “great part of ye country people meete who *with* such diligence worketh” so that “for the most part all ye Kinges corne is sett [planted] on a daye.” Afterward, the *werowances* hosted a ceremony of thanks whereby the people gathered together with their backs to the field, facing the *werowance*. Then,

They goeth about the corne in a manner backwardes. . . and the king following there faces are always toward the Kinge exspectinge when he should flinge sum beades amonge them *which* his custum is at that time to doe.

Those who had labored all day for their leader “scrambled” for the pearls and *peak* thrown their way. Those “he favors” were called to come before the *werowance* “unto whom he giveth beades into ther hande and this is the greatest curtesy he doth his people” (Spelman 1613:cxii) This annual rite, with obvious allusions to the intersection of potency, sexuality, and leadership, expressed and “explained” many aspects of native social order and reinforced their cosmological underpinnings (Turner 1976). In order to understand the full implications of the ceremony Spelman witnessed, however, and to “ground” later analyses of native ideology and beliefs, the following discussion will begin with the mundane: the quotidian practices of farming, fishing, and hunting.

Algonquians of the Chesapeake Tidewater practiced a mixed, subsistence economy of hunting and fishing, foraging and gathering, and horticulture. As noted above, the intercultural exchanges that brought corn to the Chesapeake Coastal Plain by circa 900 A.D. also brought squashes and beans into Tidewater gardens (Potter 1993:144-5). After some 400 years of adjustment to climate and location, “the three sisters” (corn, beans, and squash) provided as much as 50 to 75 percent of the peoples’ total subsistence base (Turner 1992:107). Given more ample sustenance from cultivated crops, larger villages, that covered perhaps five acres, replaced the mix of small and intermediate sites (Dent 1995:250; Potter 1993:85).

Indians in Virginia cultivated two types of fields. Household fields were relatively small and located between houses. Women planted them with corn and other vegetables. In more volatile areas near the Fall Line, such as at Patawomeck, cornfields were kept outside of the village’s palisade (see Figure 1). Algonquian women also cultivated

communally larger fields of 20 to 200 acres. These they planted with corn and beans for the use of the *werowance* (Smith 1612:145, 162; Smith 1624:116; Strachey 1612:79; Rountree 1989:46; Potter 1993:33).

As in many horticultural societies, women did the bulk of the farming (Rountree 1989:46). Women determined the fertility of a potential field “by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatness of trees or abundance of weedes, etc.” (Smith 1612:145). To clear a new field of trees and weeds without sharp chopping tools was no simple task. Large trees were girdled and burned. Men built fires “at the roote pulling a good part of the barke from them to make them die” (Spelman 1613: cxi). As the fires burned, the men chipped away the charcoal from the trunk. After the fire was out, they chopped the roots away from the burnt trunk so that the tree could be removed. In some cases, they burned the entire field, which released valuable nutrients into the soil (Potter 1993:32).

The effect was entirely beneficial. Dead and dying trees, stumps, and roots released their nutrients over time, which slowed the effects of nutrient loss to cultivation. Also, a field peppered with stumps and trunks resisted erosion (Percy 1608:134; Smith 1612:157; Potter 1993:33) According to John Smith, “this is the most easie way to have a pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other” (the “other” being an open field cleared of everything but soil) (Smith 1631:3:291; Rountree 1989:47). The following year, men returned to the new field and “with a crooked peece of wood, they beat up the woodes by the rootes” previously burned. Of course it was both impossible and undesirable to remove all of the roots and stumps that remained.

Between those dead and dying trees “whose great bodies doe defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne,” the women planted corn, beans, and squash. Eventually, some of the dead stumps were uprooted, and “in that moulde they plant their corne” as well (Strachey 1612:118).

Women and children began to plant in April and continued through June to ensure multiple harvests throughout the late summer and fall. To plant their corn and beans, they dug holes about four to five feet apart between the dead trees and the charred stumps with “a crooked peece of woode beinge scraped on both sides in fation of a gardiners paring Iron” (Spelman 1613:cxi; Strachey 1612:118). Next, “they make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheate, and 2 of beanes” (Smith 1612:157). There is no evidence that Virginia Algonquians used additional fertilizer (Rountree 1989:162 n110).

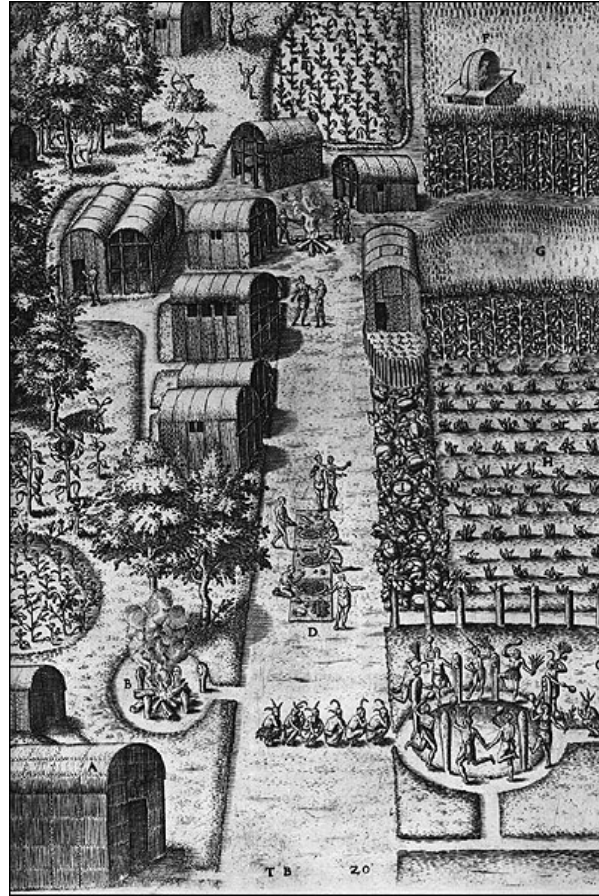


Figure 1: John White, North Carolina village, ca. 1570.
Courtesy of Swem Library, Special Collections, College of William and Mary.

The corn grew first. The beans followed, twisting around the corn, “upon whose Stalk it sustains it self” (Beverley 1705:144; Smith 1612:157). And it was a mutually beneficial relationship. As the corn grew, it pulled vital nutrients, like nitrogen, from the soil. Through its roots, the bean returned nitrogen to the soil. Above ground, corn provided a stalk for the bean’s runners to reach the sun. The runners not only wrapped and protected the corn stalk; they also covered the ground to choke out weeds. Planted alone, corn could devastate the soil in a single year. Planted together, bean and corn fields could be used for several years (Turner 1976:195; Smith 1631:3:291). On beans and nitrogen, Stephen Potter notes that the addition of beans may even have increased the nitrogen content of the soil (1993:32-33).

There were two principal types of corn raised in the early seventeenth century, “flint-corn” and “she-corn.” The difference was in the shape of the grain and color of the corn. Flint-corn grew into a smooth plump grain, “some being blue, some red, some

yellow, some white, and some streak'd." She-corn grew a larger grain, and Indian farmers preferred it "as the best for Increase," but she-corn looked "shrivell'd with a Dent on the back of the Grain, as if it had never come to perfection" (Beverley 1705:144).

Likewise, Virginia Algonquians grew two kinds of beans. The larger of the beans was "a little like a French beane, and are the same which the Turks call Garnances," i.e., garbanzos or chick peas. The smaller variety the English called "Pease... which the Natives call *Assentemmens* and are the same which in Italy they call *Fagioli*" (Strachey 1612:119). They also planted squashes—pumpkins, gourds, and muskmelons—between the hills of corn and beans. Their vines ran along the ground, and the leaves that grew helped to shade out weed infestations (Smith 1612:158; Strachey 1612:120-21).

Archeological evidence for the horticultural practices described above on the Northern Neck includes farming tools although, thus far, no palynological and paleobotanical evidence. The core samples from Dancing Marsh that were collected in 2001 are dominated by historic-period flora, especially Old World domesticated grass pollen which accompanies forest clearing, which was probably the effect of European tobacco farming rather than of native practices (Gilmore et al. 2001:170). Nor have macrofloral specimens of native corn have been recovered from any site on the park property, although these are known from other sites on the Northern Neck, including Potomac Creek (Gallivan and McKnight 2007).

After they planted "their Fields and sett their Corne," the villagers would "live after those Monthes most of Acorns [*sic*], Wallnutts, Chesnutts, Chechinquamyns [Chinquapins] and Fish, but to mend their dyett, some disperse themselves in small Companies, and live upon such beasts as they can kill, with their bowes and arrowes. Vpon Crabbs, Oysters, Land Tortoyse, Strawberries, Mulberries, and such like" During the summer, while the gardens matured "they feed upon the roots of Tockohow berries [wild potatoes], Grownd nuts, Fish, and greene Wheat [corn], and sometime upon a kynd of Serpent, or great snake of which our people likewise used to eat" (Strachey 1612:119). Perhaps Strachey was referring to eels, which were caught with a variety of traps (see Figure 2).

Those who remained in the village, mostly women (of all ages), children, and elderly men, weeded the gardens "continually" and "when it is growne middle high, they



Figure 2: Traditional Patawomack eel basket (left) constructed around 1900; contemporary split white oak eel pot (right) showcased at a cultural event in 2006. Photo by Buck Woodard.

hill it about like a hopyard” (Smith 1612:157; Strachey 1612:79). The hoeing of fresh soil around the base of the cornstalks and bean vines helped to remove some of the more persistent weeds and to preserve the soil’s precious moisture (Rountree 1989:47). Although the harvest began in August with the first crop of green corn, the bulk of the work came in September and continued into October, when women brought in the last of the squash, passion flowers, and what was left of the flint-corn (Strachey 1612:79; Smith 1612:157; Beverley 1705:144). All available hands went into the fields and gathered the corn in hand baskets. These baskets were emptied into bigger baskets made of tree bark, hemp, and cornstalks (Spelman 1613: cxii). Fully ripened corn was easier to dry and better for next year’s seed than the green corn (Rountree 1989:51).

Harvested corn was laid out on mats “in the soun to dry & every night they make a great pile of it, coveringe it over with matts to defend it from the dewe.” When the corn was dry enough, the entire community gathered “as occation serveth” to shell the corn for winter storage. Women stored the shelled corn in “great Baskett[s], *which* taketh upp the best parte of sum of ther howses” or in bark-lined storage pits, either within the community or hidden in the woods. They shelled “ye Kings corne” too, “which is layd in

howses apoynted for that purpose” (Spelman 1613:cxii; Strachey 1612:115). Thus, cultivated produce, combined with hunted meat and foraged nuts, berries, and wild produce, sustained the people through the winter.

Year after year, fields declined in productivity and became overrun by weeds. As they did, they were allowed to go fallow, and men cleared new fields for the women to plant. In some cases, this could happen in as little as two years, after which, fields would remain unused for three to seven years (Turner 1976:192-94; Rountree and Davidson 1997:17-18). As a result, there was a continuous movement of family homes within the village as new fields were cropped and old fields went fallow. Villages moved amoeba-like over the land, and village names changed to reflect their new places (Rountree 1989:46, 58, 61-2, 93; Potter 1993:32).

At waterside camps, while women and their daughters gathered tubers from the marshy estuaries, men and boys hunted birds and dove on the oyster beds in the nearby river. The size of shell middens, those piles of discarded shells that mark oystering sites, suggests that the size and location of the group who harvested the oyster beds. As the estuaries developed, the oyster made its way further into the saltier tidal tributaries. More groups then had access to these more numerous oyster beds. In March, April, and May of each year, people harvested and smoked large quantities of oysters for consumption and trade (Dent 1995:251; Waselkov 1982:207-8).

The Native people of the Tidewater were also expert fishermen. John Smith provided some details about their techniques. He wrote that “Their fishing is much in boats” (Smith 1624:117-118). Other observers suggest that the peoples of the region fished by night, using fires set directly in the boats, to attract fish (e.g., Glover 1676:23). The Reverend John Clayton, who described this practice in 1687, noted three men in a canoe, with one tending the fire, one knocking on the side of the canoe, and one paddling. The fish were said to “jump into the canoe” (Clayton 1687:418). Helen Rountree suggests that the fish were mullets, colloquially called “jumping mullet” (Rountree 1989:34). As late as 1705, Robert Beverley confirmed the use of fire to catch fish (Beverley 1705:149).

Another account from the 1670s describes Indians poisoning fish with juice from “an herb” cast upon the water (Pargellis 1959:243), a practice recorded by Frank Speck among the Rappahannock in the 1920s (Speck 1925). Still another described fishing with lines and hooks. Rods were “little sticks” with a “clift” where the line was fashioned

(Smith 1612:163; Strachey 1612:108). Fishhooks made out of the “splinter of a bone” with the bait tied to the hook (Smith 1612:117; Strachey 1612:82). In their fishing and other pursuits, their skill and equipment were greatly admired by early English observers. John Smith wrote:

Betwixt their hands and thighs, their women use to spin, the barks of trees, Deere sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*, of these they make a thread very even and readily. This thread serveth for many uses. . . as also they make nets for fishing. . . They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated as they nock their arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little stick, and with the end of the line, they tie on bait. They also use long arrows tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fishe in the rivers. But they of Accawmack use staves like unto Javelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They have also many artificiall weirs, in which they get abundance of fish. . . In their hunting and fishing they take extreme paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein
(Smith 1624:117-118).

Across the eastern Woodlands, the bow and arrow helped hunters kill more deer, which, in turn, supported growing native communities. Even though deer remained the single most important animal in the Indian diet, the bow and arrow helped to add even more elk, bear, turkey, squirrel, bobcat, raccoon, rabbit, and turtle to Algonquian diets. Migratory water fowl, like geese and duck, and passenger pigeons were drawn to the estuaries, and local families maintained camps nearby for hunting these animals as well (Kelly 2002:159, 161; Blitz 1988:123-47; Dent 1995:245, 247, 283-84; Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson 1963:58).

Another remarkable pursuit was the communal deer drive. Perhaps the best described example of the communal hunt was underway in the winter of 1607, when John Smith stumbled into a hunting party of nearly 200 men led by Powhatan’s brother, Opechancanough. Opechancanough captured and held Smith at Rasawrack, a temporary village of “onely thirtie or fourtie hunting houses made of Mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents.” After Smith had been a week at Rasawrack, Opechancanough led him on a tour through Powhatan’s chiefdom. In every instance, Smith visited native communities in the midst of their winter hunts. On the Mattaponi, and later on the Rappahannock River, Smith encountered individual community hunts.



Figure 3: Contemporary Patawomack fishing arrow (left) and burl bowl (right).
Photo by Buck Woodard, 2006.

At other times, he saw communal hunts composed of several village communities. After four or five days, Smith returned to Rasawrack in time to see the hunting party there dispersed. Families dismantled the “tents,” bound “the Mats in bundles,” and returned home to process and prepare their catch (Smith 1608:51). Anthropologist Frank Speck also observed communal rabbit hunts among the Rappahannocks in the 1940s (Speck et al. 1946).

Ample evidence of hunting, fishing, and collecting activities are found at archeological sites on the Northern Neck in general, and specifically at GWB. Middens there attest to long-term exploitation of estuarine resources, while thousands of stone projectile points, ground stone tools, hafted points, and other implements have been found at or near the park (Harwood 2002; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999; see interviews with Clay Horner, 2007, and Dwight Storke, 2007).

In spite of their skills as farmers, and their resourcefulness as gatherers, however, the Native people of the Tidewater experienced periods of want. Smith noted that “It is straunge to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deare and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake” (Smith 1612:162-63; Strachey 1612:80). In part to stave off famine and to ensure that the cycle of the seasons continued, the native people of the Tidewater region looked to supernatural beings for assistance. But religious beliefs were only partially concerned with propitiation. Ceremonies and other religious practices also reinforced the power of native rulers, and “explained” the hierarchical, gendered social relations they participated in. The following section also relies on Spelman’s descriptions of native religious beliefs and practices.

WORLD VIEW

An origin myth recorded among the Patawomecks by Spelman, and corroborated in the account of William Strachey, reads as follows:

A Mightie Great Hare

We have 5 godes in all our chief god appears often unto us in the likewise of a mightie great Hare, the other 4 have no visible shape, but are (indeed) the 4 wyndes, which keepe the 4 Corners of the earth... our god who takes upon this shape of a Hare conceived with himself how to people this great world, and with what kind of Creatures, and yt is true... that at length he divided and made divers men and women and made provision for them to be kept up yet for a while in a great bag... that godlike hare made the water and the fish therein and the land and a great deare, which should feed upon the land, at which assembled the other 4 gods envious hereat... and with hunting poles kild this deare drest him and after they had feasted with him departed again east west north and south, at which the other god in despite of this their malice to him, tooke all the haire of the slain deare and spreadde them upon the earth with many powerfull wordes and charmes whereby every haire became a deare and then he opened the great bag, wherein the men and the women were, and placed them upon the earth, a man and a woman in one Country and a man and a woman in another country, and so the world tooke his first beginning of Mankynd
(Strachey 1610[1953]).

The Great Hare; trickster, culture hero, and creator, is a figure known throughout the Eastern Woodlands (Williamson 1979:408). Similarly, “beings other than human” representing the four sacred directions, often linked to winds, are familiar in many origin stories of the region (Tooker 1979). From this story, and others like it collected among Powhatan peoples and their neighbors then and since, it is possible to reconstruct elements of Native cosmology. In particular, this story reflects a widespread understanding of the division of the cosmos into three parts: the sky world, the earth where humans live, and the under(water) world. Sky beings, among whom the Hare and the winds dwelled, were thought to represent those forces in opposition to the underworld, often represented by ordinary water-dwellers such as turtles, frogs, or snakes, as well as by the fearsome “underwater Panther, or the Great Horned Serpent” which figures in many indigenous origin stories (Tooker 1979). Samuel Purchas, in his compilation of early descriptions of Virginia’s Native people, recorded that the Great

Hare was thought to have slain a “great serpent” when he first appeared there (cited in Williamson 2003:175).

Margaret Holmes Williamson’s analysis of Powhatan cosmology includes a detailed study of the significance of directions in marking and defining social space. For example, the east, the direction from which the Hare was thought to come, was also the direction of the dawn, of renewal, regeneration, and of sociality. The east was the direction of village life, and of gardening (1979:407). The west, on the other hand, was the direction of the wilderness, of solitude, hunting, and of death. Similarly, the underworld was a “place” associated with death, and those beings to whom the various ills affecting human beings might come. English people to whom these beliefs were explained thought they recognized in the underworld beings, or those associated with the west, their own Devil. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the widespread acknowledgement among the English of the early seventeenth century of the Devil’s significance in human affairs influenced the way in which they described and interpreted Native beliefs. Another description of Powhatan’s “treasury” at Yaughtawnoone (or Youghtanund) on the Upper Pamunkey River and the *huskenaw* or puberty ceremony, which Spelman witnessed, illustrates some of these concepts further:

And therefore first concerning their gods, you must understand that for the most part they worship the devil, which the conjurers that are their priests, can make appear unto them at their pleasure, yet nevertheless in every country they have a several Image whom they call ther god. As with the great Pawetan he has an Image called Cakeres which most commonly stands at Yaughtawnoone [in one of the King’s houses] or at Oropikes in a house for that purpose and with him are set all the Kings goods and presents that are sent him, as the Corn. But the beads or Crown or Bed which the King of England sent him are in the gods house at Oropikes, and in their houses are all the King ancesters and kindred commonly buried. In the Patomecks country they have an other god whom they call Quioquascacke, and unto ther Images they offer Beads and Copper if at any time they want Rain or have to much, and though they observe no day to worship their god: but upon necessity, yet once in the year, ther priests which are their conjurers with the people, men, woman and children do go into the woods, where their priests make a great circle of fire in the which after many observances in ther conjurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be given to their god if he will appear unto them and show his mind whom he will have. Upon which offering they hear a *caukewis manato taukinge souke quiauasack*⁶ noise out of the Circle nominating

⁶ No definitive translation of this phrase has been proposed. The term *manatos* resembles the northeastern Algonquian term *manitou*, meaning divine power, or spirit (Williams 1936).

such as he will have whome presently they take binding them hand and foot and cast them into the circle of the fire, for be it the King's son he must be given if once named by ther god. After the bodies which are offered are consumed in the fire and their ceremonies performed the men depart merrily, the weomen weeping (Spelman 1613).

One of the gods named in this description, *Cakeres* (probably a version of the more commonly recorded *Oke*), along with another deity known as *Ahone*, represent, in Powhatan cosmology, various aspects of the dualism that characterized their religious and social practice. *Oke* (given a Latin suffix *-us* in Strachey's narrative) was the more fearsome, thought to be both a punishing, and a demanding deity:

he "appeareth. . . out of the aire," and, "by some knowne signe manifest himselfe [to men], and direct them to game" (Purchas 1617:954-55).

To incorporate the correct spiritual power and to become a successful hunter, men would "fashion themselves. . . as neere to his [*Oke*] shape as they ymagyne" (Strachey 1612:73-74, 88 [quote]; see also Smith 1612:160-61; Spelman 1613:cxiii; Kupperman 2000:55-56). *Oke* also shared his power with women and "taught them to plant so many kindes of Corne" (Purchas 1617:954-55). *Oke* looked "into all mens accions and examyning the same according to the Sever Scale of Justice," and might strike "their ripe Corne with blastings, stormes, and thunderclappes." He brought sickness, warfare, and death to the people; yet the people did their utmost to propitiate him (Strachey 1612:89; Purchas 1617:954-55; Smith 1612:168-69).

Ahone was said to have created the sun, the stars, the earth, and the moon, as well as conceiving the principal deities and lesser spirits. *Ahone* remained removed from the people, but, through his gift of light, he guaranteed life, and his benevolence was seen and felt everywhere (Strachey 1612:89).

Powhatan's treasury house and the offerings to *Cakeres* described in Spelman's account, represent the complex interconnections of Powhatan subsistence, political organization and cosmology. As in many (although not all) complex chiefdoms, Tidewater *werowances* organized the redistribution of community surpluses, including both stored crops and other forms of wealth. Wealth was accumulated by the leader through tribute payments. In Powhatan's case, his many wives were also producers of surpluses that he redistributed to his followers, and used diplomatically as well. Such

wealth was often stored in a prominent location, often at the central villages of each local ruler, the “kings’ houses” described by Smith. In fact, these treasuries and kings’ houses may have been one and the same. The treasuries, according to Spelman, were not meant solely for the storage of foodstuffs or other wealth, but were in fact sepulchers, where the mummified remains of “the kings ancestors [*sic*] and kindred” were also kept. These treasury/charnel houses were continuously tended to by the religious specialists known as *quiyoughcosough* (Beverley 1705:212), who lived apart from the rest of the villagers, never marrying and shunning social contact. Margaret Holmes Williamson argues persuasively that this conjoining of wealth objects and of the human remains of former rulers is an example of the conjunction of political and cosmological principles often found in chiefly, indeed kingly, societies (Williamson 2003). The control of these treasuries by Powhatan (and by other, lesser rulers) reminded his followers that his political power and wealth was rooted in and underscored by his special access to the sacred; his symbolic role as the personification of the “wealth” of the community was reinforced by these means as well. This same conjunction of political power, sacredness, and creative force is reflected in the “king’s corne” ceremony described above.

Spelman also described another deity, unique to the Patawomeke, whom he named *Quioquascacke*, to images of which they made offerings of beads if they were in need of rain, or if it rained excessively (see also Smith 1612:139). Robert Beverley reported in the early eighteenth century, that Virginia Algonquians referred to their “temples” as *quioccasan* as well (Beverley 1705:195). The resemblance of this term to that used in other contexts for Powhatan religious practitioners themselves, suggests to Williamson that both meant something like “a mediator” *Oke* (Williamson 2003:192). The role of these “mediators” who both reinforced, and were a counterpoint to, secular leaders is discussed below.

RELIGIOUS SPECIALISTS

Powhatan society was divided by rank, gender, and age, and also by degree of social integration. One can imagine Powhatan communities as organized in terms of the cardinal directions, as well as according to the “center-periphery” model. At the boundaries of the community, both literally and figuratively, stood the religious specialists known as *quiyoughcosough*. These individuals had many functions: they

advised rulers, maintained the “treasuries/temples,” and were the principal medical practitioners. Like shamans in many parts of the world, the *quiyoughcosough* had extraordinary spiritual power, acquired after many years of training, and accessed through dreams, trance, deprivation, and the use of hallucinogens, primarily, in the case of the Virginia Algonquians, tobacco. Cures often involved the “sucking out” of harmful substances, and other “conjurations” poorly described in the earliest English accounts. That the English so often referred to the *quiyoughcosough* as “conjurers” reflected their own ambivalence about “magic,” a set of practices deeply embedded in European Christianity (Williamson 2003: 197).

Although Spelman reported that the children chosen by the gods in the ritual he observed were “consumed in the fire,” most scholars agree that what he observed was a symbolic death only, and that the chosen children (probably only males) were initiates, meant to take on the powerful but isolating role and status of *quiyoughcosough* (see also Purchas 1617:955; Smith 1624:124-125). In so doing, they were marked as socially “dead” and thus “mourned” by their weeping mothers (Williamson 1979). Margaret Holmes Williamson notes that the social isolation of the *quiyoughcosough* was also marked by their dress, hairstyle, and physical separation from the rest of the community (1979: 399-400, 404-5; 2003).

WEROWANCES

Spelman penned a dramatic account of Powhatan’s demeanor and actions, which helps to illuminate some of the aspects of leadership and political organization among the Powhatan, and about the relations between Powhatan and the Patowomeck *werowances* with whom Spelman later stayed. Spelman, who had accompanied another Englishman named Thomas Savage to Powhatan’s home at Orapakes, witnessed the following incident:

Captaine Ratcliffe came with a ship with xxiii or xxv men to Orohpikes and leaving his ship there came by barge with sixteen men to the Powhatan to Powmunkey where he very courteously in show received them by sending thm bread and venison in reward whereof Captaine Ratclyff sent him copper and beads and such like. Then Powhatan appointed Capt:Ratclyff a house for him and his men to lie in during the time that they should traffic, not far from his own but above a half a mile from the barge, and himself in the evening coming to their house slenderly accompanied. . . the next day the Powhatan with a company of

savages came to Capt: Ratclyff and carried our English to their storehouse where their corn was to traffic with them, giving them pieces of copper and beads and other things According to the proportions of the baskets of corn which they brought but the Indians dealing deceitfully by pulling or bearing up the bottom of their baskets with their hands so that the less corn might serve to fill them. The English men taking exceptions against it and a discontentment rising upon it the king conveyed himself and departed taking me and the Dutchman [a man named Samwell] with him and his wives hence.

Shortly after this incident, according to Spelman:

The King in show made still much of us yet his mind was much declined from us which made us fear the worst, and having now been with him [Powhatan] about 24 or 25 weeks, it happened that the King of Patomeck came to visit the great Powetan, where being a while with him, he showed such kindness to Savage, Samuell and myself as we determined to go away with him, when the day of his departure was come, we did as we agreed and having gone a mile or two on the way, Savage feigned some excuses of stay & unknown to us went back to Powetan, and acquainted him with our departing with the Patowomeck. The Powetan presently sends after us commandinge our return: which we not believing refusing went still on our way: and those that were sent, went still on with us, till one of them finding opportunity on a sudden struck Samuell with an axe and killed him, which I seeing ran away from among the company, they after me, the King and his men after them, who overtake them held them, till I shifted for my self and got to the Patomeckes country.

Powhatan society was a hierarchical one, with leadership determined by descent through the matriline, and succession from brothers to sister's sons. Scholars are divided about rules for post-marital residence among the Powhatan, and it may be that, as is often the case in matrilineal societies, avunculocal residence (living near or with the groom's mother's brother) was practiced among the elite, while others lived near the homes of the groom's father. Female leaders were acknowledged, but may have ruled as regents or in the absence of an appropriate male leader in later decades of the seventeenth century. Leaders or *werowances* were advised by councilors and priests, who ranged in experience and influence, depending on their age and skill. The role of the *werowance* was to incorporate new ideas and materials into the community. Spiritually, this meant that *werowances* translated messages from priests to villagers to guide people in correct action. Deities shared their power with humans when humans engaged the divine through appropriate reciprocal relations that included proper behavior. Correct action on the part of humans was necessary to maintain the balance

between the human and the divine. The role of *werowances* in keeping that balance gave them considerable authority within their communities, a power they shared not only with priestly *quioughquisouh* but also with civil *cawcawwassoughs*, or councilors. A *werowance* also represented his village to outsiders both when he visited foreign places and when he entertained guests around his own fire. *Werowances* who cultivated foreign relations, and so incorporated new forms of power, could enhance their status across the region. *Werowances* shared food surpluses with temple priests, exchanged food with neighboring communities, or used food to host elaborate feasts for foreign guests (Strachey 1612:60-61, 69; Gleach 1997:28, 32-37).

From Spelman's description it is clear that Powhatan as a *werowance* was centrally involved in trade and diplomacy, had access to the *quioccasan*, which was forbidden to the general populace, was able to command warriors, and traveled with a retinue, including several of his wives. All of these "kingly" features of Powhatan's practice and many others besides are described by several other early English observers. Powhatan, as other descriptions make clear, also literally "embodied" his chiefdom. The *werowance* casting white pearls upon the women was symbolic of Okeus who fertilized the fields. Redistributed pearls and beads reinforced social relations and reminded the participants of their place and obligations (Williamson 2003:157-158; Dowd 1992:6-9).

On the other hand, the "King" of Patomeck defied his wishes, and exercised some autonomy in assisting in Spelman's "escape." This has been interpreted by some scholars to mean that Powhatan's power (by which is meant coercive control) was limited, and that his influence over the politics on the "periphery" was negligible. Powhatan's leadership had certainly been tested during the three years that followed the settlement at Jamestown, as evidenced by his retreat from Werowocomoco to Orapaks, and his relations with the peoples of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers prior to the arrival of the English is unclear. However, this does not suggest to students of chiefly societies that Powhatan leaders in general were lacking in either authority or power.

Instead, as Gleach (1997) and Williamson (2003) suggest, Powhatan sovereignty was a "dyarchy, dual rule by a religious authority and a secular power" (Williamson 2003:204). Secular leaders, such as Powhatan, partook of sacred power. They presided over rituals, and were sometimes regarded as shamans as well. After their death they were transformed into purely spiritual beings (and their remains preserved in the *quioccasan*). As noted above, Powhatan, according to Spelman, "hath an Image"

commonly stored in a “temple” at Orapakes or Youghtawnoone (see also Smith 1612:169). At the same time, in other circumstances, Powhatan leaders deferred to *quioughquisouh*, or, as suggested in Spelman’s account, to other leaders as well.

The confusion of English observers about the nature of Powhatan political organization is also reflected in their descriptions of Powhatan women, marriage practices, and of gender relations in the indigenous societies they observed. For example, contemporary accounts speak of “bride capture” practiced among the Powhatan, a custom which is thought to symbolically acknowledge the loss of women to their natal families. Henry Spelman reveals his own biases about women in his description of “their manner of marrying”:

The custom of the country is to have many wives and to buy them, so that he which have most copper and beads may have most wives, for if he takes liking of any woman he makes love to her, and seeks to her father or kinsfolk to set what price he must pay for her. . .

Like many of his fellow countrymen who observed Native American marriage practices in the seventeenth century, Spelman also failed to grasp the nature of the bridewealth payments which he was describing, which, as a great deal of ethnographic research reveals, are usually payments made to the family of the bride by the family of the groom, marking the loss of the bride’s labor and progeny to her natal family. At the same time, Spelman was also surprised at how assertive Powhatan women could be:

It was my luck to be left at one of the Kings Pasptanses Houses when he went to visit another King and two of his wives were there also, after the Kings departure, one of them would go visit her father, whos her name was Paupauwiske, and seeing me, willed me to go with her and to take her child and carry him thither in my arms, being a long days journey from the place where we dwelt, but which I refusing she struck me 3 or 4 blows, but I being loath to bear too much got to her and pulled her down giving her some blows again which the other Kings wives perceiving they both fell on me beating me so as I thought they lamed me.

Spelman goes on to report that although the king on his return punished the woman who had chastised him, Spelman suspected that he did so “in hope I should help him to some copper.” Margaret Holmes Williamson’s analysis of Powhatan society suggests that power and authority were context specific. In some instances, women could be assertive, when they were in a socially superior position (as they were with Spelman), while in others they were subordinate, as they would have been in their relations with powerful leaders. Williamson argues:

Any pair of statuses displayed the same structure: the superior was always the authority, and he was more spiritual, more masculine, and physically higher than the subordinate, who was always the lower, the more mundane, the more feminine, and physically lower (2003:204).

A WARRIOR SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Frederick Gleach's study of Powhatan warfare focuses on Powhatan as a military leader. He makes use of the symbolic contrast between "inner" and "outer," described by Williamson, to analyze the ways in which Powhatan conceptualized his confederacy, and to explain the ways in which this distinction motivated the "predatory" expansion of Powhatan's domain (Williamson 2003:224-228; Gleach 1997:56-57). John Smith reported that Powhatan "priests" made concentric circles on the ground, using cornmeal, and placed heaps of corn kernels in a circle outside of that, and furthest away, a circle of specially prepared sticks. They explained to him that "the circle of meale signified their Country, the circles of corne the bounds of the Sea, and the stickes his Country. They imagined the world to be flat and round, like a trencher, and they in the midst" (Smith 1624:150). Spelman's description of the *huskenaw*, described above, included a reference to a "Great circle of fire" that appears to reflect the same principles.

Williamson has pointed out the remarkable "iteration" of symbolic reference in all aspects of Powhatan life, creating the "seamless whole" of the lives that Powhatan people experienced (2003). However, the apparent inevitability this web of experience and meaning is in fact only an illusion. Chesapeake Bay societies were constantly evolving, responding to one another, and recursively, to internal pressures. The warlike culture that Powhatan's policies engendered was further tested in contests with European settlers, who invaded *Tsenacomoco* while his chiefdom was still evolving. The following chapter describes a century of interaction between natives and the English newcomers, a period of great conflict and cultural disruption for Virginia's Native people.

CHAPTER THREE: NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS, A CENTURY OF CONFLICT

In the late sixteenth century, the Native people of the Northern Neck, occupying a “frontier zone” between the Native polities that occupied the Virginia coastal plain and the drainages of the rivers that emptied into the Chesapeake Bay, including the Powhatans of Tidewater Virginia, the northern Potomac chiefdoms, and the Conoys of Maryland’s Eastern Shore were enmeshed in competitive expansion politics and trade involving Native groups to the north and west, beyond the Fall line of the James (Powhatan) river. The principal groups with whom the Native people of the Tidewater interacted included the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks, who, in the early seventeenth century, were moving east and south, and the Siouan (?) -speaking Monacans and Monahoacs of the upper Potomac and Shenandoah Valleys. Archeologists have demonstrated that European trade goods were exchanged along native routes that bordered the region (chiefly along the Great Warrior Road, one branch of which ran along the Shenandoah Valley) in the late fifteenth century A.D. The earliest English settlers on the Chesapeake Bay made use of native currency, and pre-established native trading links. For example, early traders and settlers found a convenient source of currency in the already established trade in shell. An early Maryland settler noted:

To speak of the Indian money of those parts, it is of two sort, wompomgeag and Roanoke, both of them are made of a fish shell that they gather by the seaside. Wompompeag is of the greater sort and Roanoke of the lesser, and the wompompeag is three times the value of Roanoke and these serve as gold and silver doe here
(Hall 1967:90)

European presence exacerbated tensions among the expanding chiefdoms of the region, and Europeans took advantage of the rivalries among them. Between the earliest explorations of the mid-Atlantic region and the establishment of English settlements on the Northern Neck was a period of complex negotiation and trade among various English interest groups and a number of native polities and communities, some involving Washington family forebears (see below).

The English colonial economy in North America, based initially on extraction of naval stores, furs, and minerals, gave way to appropriation of large tracts of land, such that exploration and trade became integrated within long-standing and extensive land- and maritime based exchange systems (Fausz 1985, 1988:59-73). On the Northern Neck, as elsewhere in the Tidewater, land previously cleared by Native Americans was in high demand (Gallivan 2004:67), especially those fields close to rivers (see also Carr et al. 1991:120-121; Smolek et al. 1984:14-18). Table 2 lists the seventeenth-century patents for the Northern Neck with locations associated with cleared Native land.

Table 2: Indian Fields in Early Patents (modified from Reisse 2007)

Date	County	Patent Holder	Acres	Ref.	Location
1650	Westmoreland	J.Hollis/N. Heywood/N.Pope	700	499	Hollwances Creek to Wading Place
1658	Rappahannock	James Baughan	250	366	N/A
1658	Westmoreland	William Strouder	500	371	Herring Creek Nominy River
1660	Rappahannock	Samuel Griffin	1155	408	Farnham Creek
1662	Westmoreland	William Strouder	500	435	Herring Creek/ Nominy River
1663	Rappahannock	James Samford	400	433	Totoskey Creek
1663	Rappahannock	Thomas Robinson	700	497	Totoskey Creek
1663	Rappahannock	John Shurlocke	410	505	Totoskey Creek
1663	Rappahannock	Robert Balis	153	508	Richards Creek Totoskey Creek
<1664	Westmoreland	Richard Cole/ David Anderson	1000	449	“Indian town”
1664	Rappahannock	Thomas Griffith	350	441	Farnham Creek Moratticoe Creek
1664	Northumberland	Mathew Rhodam	393	510	Kings Creek
1665	Westmoreland	William Overett	590	547	Nomany River
1667	Rappahannock	Ambros Cleare	1155	78	Rappahannock, Fernanan, Marratecoe
?	Rappahannock	George Morris	2100	148	?

The location of these patents suggests a correlation between fertile soils and native settlements, and, perhaps, centers of native political influence in the region (Reisse 2007). In the early seventeenth century, Farnham Creek and Totusky Creek were part of the territories of the Pissasecks, Rappahannocks, and Moraughtacunds, and Nomini Creek was probably the province of the Onawmanients or Matchotics (Potter 1993:10-11). Steven Potter argues that the clustering of Native settlements on the Rappahannock was partially defensive, but there may have been a correlation with fertile soils there as well (Potter 1993:10-11). Certainly John Smith's map indicates a sparser settlement pattern on the southern Potomac shore, which in addition to poorer soils had relatively few sources of fresh water. However, references in the land records to the "Indian town" field on the Blenheim property adjoining the park suggest that cleared lands, perhaps linked to the Onawmanient settlement, influenced the location of Nathaniel Pope's and Henry Bridges' patents as well. Native inhabitants had been expelled from many of these areas by the time of the issuing of the first English patents on the Northern Neck, no doubt in part because of the value of their land for planting. For example, another early settler, Richard Cole, settled on the east side of Machodoc Creek, at the place called Cole's Point, where Native planting fields have also been identified. Herrman's map (1673) shows even distribution of English settlement and includes several references to old Indian fields and abandoned towns (Gouger 1976:53; McCartney 1988; Potter 1993; Rutman and Rutman 1984:45-46; Sprinkle 1985:3995n.12). Undoubtedly, the region contained large swaths of cleared land by the mid-seventeenth century, including those fields that were remnants of the Native American landscape. As Charles Hatch noted, even half a century before George Washington was born in 1732, "the wilderness character would have been gone. . . forest cover for the most part would have surrendered to open fields with even some reversion here and there to 'old fields,' and even second growth." The area had, by 1662, become "small farms of fifty or a hundred or so acres," a pattern also found in Marston Parish (Hatch 1979:36). However, if the county was no longer a wilderness, it was certainly rural enough so that the Westmoreland Court justices on October 31, 1688, issued a bounty on "pernicious vermin woolves which prey not only on sheep & hoggs but alsoe on cattell & colts" (*William and Mary Quarterly* 1907:48).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JAMESTOWN AND ITS IMPACT ON THE INDIAN PEOPLES OF THE NORTHERN NECK

The founding of Jamestown in 1607, which provided a “beachhead” for exploratory and trading expeditions to the Northern Neck such as John Smith’s, described in the previous chapter, had an immediate if indirect effect on the native peoples there. Hostile encounters and the taking of hostages soon became commonplace. Stories of these early encounters survive among Virginia’s Indian people today.

It is said among contemporary Patawomecks, for example, that John Smith left Henry Spelman at the village of Orapax, to learn the language and ways of the people. Spelman was unhappy with his situation and fled to live with Japasaws (Iopassus), the werowance of Passapatanzie, one of the Patawomeck towns, until rescued by Samuel Argall. To this day the Patawomecks are very proud of their tribe’s association with Spelman and Argall. Patawomeck Chief Robert Green notes that Argall and the governor of Virginia (Baron De La Warre) reported a trading relationship they had established with the Patawomeck leader who was “as great as Powhatan (Wahensenucaw)” in the seventeenth century (Patawomeck Tribal Leaders, interview, 2006). Chief Green added further:

Patawomecks were known to be ferocious fighters. I don’t think they were tributaries of Powhatan and that is why they acted independently. We were part of the Northern defense (Chief Green, interview, 2006).

Another well-known story concerns the kidnapping of Pocahontas, which took place among the Patawomecks in 1613:

The most famous event that happened in our tribal history is the taking of Pocahontas by the English. She was taken [prisoner] from our tribal area in Stafford County, supposedly traded for a copper kettle but we don’t believe that [part] was actually true (Chief Green, interview, 2006).

It is accepted that Powhatan’s daughter, Pocahontas, was visiting or representing her father among the Patawomecks during 1613, and that Samuel Argall was involved in the negotiations for her release. Tribal members say that they (the Patawomecks) were showing their independence from Powhatan in handing over Pocahontas to the English. On the other hand, they argue, the presence of Pocahontas among their people at this

time may indicate that she had kin ties among the Patawomecks, possibly through her mother's lineage. Gary Cooke, Assistant Chief of the Patawomecks, who prefers the title of "Lesser Chief," says that his mother told him from the time that he was a child that the Patawomecks were related to Pocahontas:

As far as Pocahontas goes my mother told us from the time we were young that we were Potomac. She said that her grandfather said we were the cousins of Pocahontas and I believe we are related to her (Gary Cooke, personal communication, 2006).

It appears that the English had hoped the Powhatans would ransom Pocahontas with grain and the return of tools and other items "stolen" from the English (Mossiker 1976:160). The Powhatan remained obdurate, however, in a strategic effort to assert authority. Instead, Pocahontas remained a captive of the English at James Fort, and eventually married the English widower, John Rolfe, ushering in a brief period of peace between the English and Indians.

According to Rappahannock tribal members, their ancestors were the first to make contact with the English. In 1603 Captain Samuel Mace sailed up the Rappahannock River and was "befriended" by the chief. As noted above, the encounter ended badly, with the death of the headman or chief and the capture and transport of several Rappahannock men to England. Tribal members also recount the story of John Smith's capture and release by Pocahontas from this perspective. According to Rappahannock Chief G. Anne Richardson, the reason Smith was brought to Tappahannock was so that tribal members could determine if it was he who had killed their chief:

Smith was brought to us to see if we recognized him. But we didn't. He wasn't the man who killed our chief (interview with Chief Ann Richardson, October 2005).

In the 1920s anthropologist Frank Speck also recounted a legend about interethnic relations attributed to Luther Newton, one of the more prominent members of the Potomac band. According to Mr. Newton, one of Sir Isaac Newton's sons, who came to America to seek his fortune, met a beautiful little Indian girl at a plantation he visited. Impressed by her beauty, he gave her a gold coin and promised to return someday to marry her. Years passed and the Newton son returned. The Indian girl, who had matured, showed him the gold piece and reminded him of his promise. He honored

it and they married, thereby becoming the ancestor of the Newtons of Indian blood (Speck 1928:284).

George Percy recorded another story concerning the earliest meeting between Europeans and the *werowance* or “king” of the Rapahanna (Tyler 1907:13-14), as well as with the Pasphie tribe (the Paspahegh, resident at the mouth of the James or Powhatan River). The latter community was located at the intersection of the James and Chickahominy Rivers, a long distance from the Rappahannock River. Frank Speck (1925:25) discusses several discrepancies in Percy’s account which pertain to geographic distances and the described locations of events. For Speck these discrepancies raise doubts as to whether or not the Rapahanna “king” of Percy’s document was the leader of the same group of people who were known as Rappahannocks later in the century. Speck, like Mooney (1907) suggests that terms employed in the early contact period for geographic locations and those of indigenous communities are challenging to deconstruct. Thus, he argues, a review of Smith’s account and other early documents, including the 1669 Virginia census, lead to confusion about tribal identity in coastal Virginia during the seventeenth century (Speck 1925: 30).

For example, both Speck and Mooney argue that the name Nantaughtacund, a name used in the seventeenth century to refer to bands located south of the Rappahannock River, may be linked with the Rappahannock tribe and at times the terms/names may have been synonymous. As a result, it is likely that tribal identification in the initial contact period is inexact, and that movement of communities and consolidation of groups continued throughout the seventeenth century. It is reasonable to assume that scholars have not yet and may never be able to establish with any degree of certainty the nature of “tribal” identity and political structure along the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers at the time of European settlement. What is certain is that from the period of English exploration until the early eighteenth century a number of native communities were located on the north bank of the Rappahannock River and at times different names were associated with these communities, including the Pissaseck, Nantaughtacund, Wicomico, Rappahannock and Patawomeck. These groups, spread out over several counties (King William, Essex, Caroline) very likely merged into the coalescent community today known as the Rappahannock Indian Tribe (see also Chapter Seven).

In 1608 Smith returned to map the area of the Rappahannock River and noted more than a dozen native villages, all situated on the north side of the river. Present-day tribal leaders say that the all of Rappahannock villages were located on the north side of the river and that the south side was reserved for hunting purposes. It is also possible that the Rappahannocks were fleeing the expanding Powhatan polity (chiefdom) under the headship of Wahensenucaw, and relocated their villages to the north (Woodard 2007).

These few glimpses of conflict and negotiation on the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers in the early seventeenth century, still debated among Virginia's native people today, suggest a period of turmoil and uncertainty. Conditions for native people did not improve as the nascent Jamestown colony assumed the right to control interaction between colonists and various tribal groups, and, by implication, between Indian groups themselves. On August 4, 1619, for example, the Jamestown Burgesses determined that "It shalbe [*sic*] free for every man to trade with the Indians, servants onely [*sic*] excepted," unless the servant's master paid a fee. The settlers were forbidden to "sell or give any of the greater howes [hoes] to the Indians, or any English dog of quality, as a mastive, greyhound, bloodhounde, lande or water spaniel, or any other dog or bitche whatsoever, of the English race." Moreover, no one was to "sell or give any Indians any piece [firearm], shott or poulder [powder], or any other armes, offensive or defensive." Any colonist who did so would be deemed a traitor and be "hanged as soon as the facte is proved." Trade with the Natives was tightly controlled and "no man shall purposely goe to any Indian townes, habitations or places or resortes without leave from the Governor or comaunder [*sic*] of that place wher [*sic*] he liveth, upon paine of paying 40 s to publique uses" (Tyler 1907:269-270).

THE GREAT COUP OF 1622 AND ITS AFTERMATH

Given the structure and world view of Powhatan society described in the previous chapter, increasing interference with their affairs, and the aggressive expansion of Jamestown's outlying settlements had an inevitable result. After Powhatan's death in 1617-1618, a more militant attitude emerged on the part of the Powhatans, led by the charismatic (Pamunkey?) war captain, Opechancanough, a forceful and dynamic leader (McCartney 1985:53-54). His March 22, 1622 coup (understood here as *coup de main*,

not *coup d'état*, or a strike against and not an overthrow), timed to coincide with the “taking up” of Powhatan’s bones (McCartney 1985:53-54; Kingsbury 1906-1935, 4:9), was a series of coordinated attacks on outlying settlements and claimed the lives of an estimated one-third of the colony’s population (Gleach 1997). In the long run, however, this first concerted Indian uprising did very little to stem the tide of expanding settlement. The wake of the Great Coup saw a period of hardening English attitudes towards the Indians, and a gradual abandonment of policies that favored negotiation with local tribes.

On the other hand, although there is contradictory information, it appears that the Native people of the Northern Neck stayed aloof from Opechancanough coup, and thus escaped the wrath of English settlers for a period. For example, during the fall of 1622, while Captain Isaac Madison was living at Patowomeck, on the Potomac River, two of his men reportedly ran away to Nazatica (a native settlement on the upper reaches of the Rappahannock). Madison sent in their pursuit

... Master John Upton and three more with an Indian guide to Nazatica, where they heard they were. At this place was a King beat out of his Country by the Necosts, enemies to the Patawomacks; this expelled King though he professed much love to the Patawomacks, yet he loved not the King because he would not helpe him to revenge his enemies (Smith 1910:596).

In addition, prior to 1630, the English made a number of expeditions into the northerly portion of the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck, in an attempt to procure corn and other food stuffs, but there seems to have been relatively little military or socio-political interaction (Kingsbury 1906-1935, 3:708-710). In fact, it appears to have been English policy to restrict English settlement on the Northern Neck, which represented a “buffer zone” between the English and other hostile native groups.⁷

The Northern Neck Proprietary

In 1639 officials of the Bermuda Company of London asked to be assigned “a large proportion of land between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, not yet granted or inhabited by his Majesty’s subjects. . . in consolation for the great defect in the

⁷ Hening 1809-1823, 1:223; Craven 1970: 169. East from the falls of the James River, the counties were Henrico, Charles City, James City, Warwick River, Charles River (York), Warrosquyoake, and Elizabeth City. The eighth county, Accomac, was on the Eastern Shore.

quantity of land in the Somers Islands” (Lefroy 1981, 1:557-8). So far as can be deduced from the documentary record, however, the Bermuda Company’s request was denied. Later, in September, 1649, the exiled King Charles II set aside for seven of his loyal supporters “all that entire Tract. . . bounded by and within the heads of the Rivers Tappahonocke als Rappahanock and Quirough or Patawomecke Rivers” (the Northern Neck) as a proprietary territory. King Charles upheld the grant in 1652, when the monarchy was restored, and in 1669 reaffirmed it by means of a 21-year lease (Joyner 1985, 1:x; Gentry 1981:xvi-xvii). The proprietary status of the Northern Neck remained a source of uncertainty among early settlers there, whose titles were derived from grants issued by the Assembly of Virginia, beginning in 1640/1 (VMHB 1901:53). In 1642, the Assembly decreed that “it should and might be lawfull for all persons to assume grants for land there [north of the Rappahannock River],” with the Assembly’s approval. The Assembly also allowed that, unlike the rest of the colony, patents between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers could be made “without exact survey.”⁸ These provisions precipitated rapid settlement along the James, York, and Rappahannock Rivers, bringing newcomers into further conflict with the region’s native communities (Stanard 1902:54; Wheeler 1972:11-14; Nugent 1969-1979, 1:131-132, 135, 189, 199, 239, 264, 278).

The 1644 Indian Uprising

Although a new treaty was signed with the Powhatans in April 1642, protecting their settlements from English encroachment, the relentless influx of planters impelled some of the tribes of the Powhatan Chiefdom to unite again in another attempt to drive the English colonists from their soil. The second coup, also orchestrated by Opechancanough, then said to be nearly one hundred years old, resulted in the death of an estimated 400 to 500 English settlers. Especially hard hit were those who lived in the upper reaches of the York River and on the lower side of the James, near the Nansemond River (Stanard 1915:230-231; Beverley 1705:60-61; Force 1963, 2:8:1). In June, 1644 the Grand Assembly resolved to “forever abandon all formes of peace and familiarity with the whole [Indian] nation and to the uttermost of our Power pursue and root out those which have in any way had their hand in the shedding of our blood and massacring of our People” (Stanard 1915:229). The colonists then embarked upon

⁸ Hening 1809-1823, 1:274, marks the re-enactment of the legislation in March 1642/43.

retaliatory expeditions designed to extirpate the Indians (McIlwaine 1924:277, 296). In July, 1644 marches were undertaken against the Pamunkey, Weyanoke, Warresqueak and Nansemond Indians, along with two tribes that lived within what eventually became North Carolina: the Chowanoke (Chowan) and Seacock (likely the Secotan, allies of the Chowan). The Nansemond were attacked by the combined armies of Isle of Wight and Norfolk Counties. Captain William Claiborne also led a large, well-equipped army against the Pamunkey Indians, destroying their villages and corn fields. The survivors disappeared into the forest and then dropped out of sight (Hening 1809-1823, 1:237, 287; Force 1963, 2:7:6, 8:1; Beverley 1705:60-61; Stanard 1915:229-231; McIlwaine 1924:277, 296, 501).

According to E. D. Neill, a late nineteenth-century scholar, Margaret Worleigh, who had been captured by the Indians in 1644 and detained by Opechancanough, sent a letter to governing officials in which “she mentioned that he desired a redemption of captives and a treaty of peace.” Neill noted that:

It was agreed that there should be an armistice and that Margaret Worleigh should be informed that the governor would soon come to Rickahock, or Fort Royall, on the Pamunkey River, and would be pleased there to confer with 12 of the chief’s principal men. Captain Henry Fleet was engaged as interpreter, to meet the governor at his estate, the Middle Plantation, not far from Jamestown (Neill 1886:188-189).

No further efforts towards armistice have been recorded, and the fighting continued into 1645. On February 27 of that year, Richard Kemp informed Governor William Berkeley:

Our war with ye Natives this summer had good success, for besides the burning of their townes, as in their king’s own house, and their treasure house, And ye destroying of their Corne, we had ye execution of many of them and took some prisoners the best and many of the services being performed by ye horse[men] commanded by Capt. Ralph Wormeley, who did many gallant services and with his own hands killed two and he brought in one prisoner by ye necke to ye great joy of ye Army and was of great Consequence to them in guiding them to their townes and corn fields, we suffered none of them about us to rest until our powder failed, wch without doubt they imagined by our lying still, And then they pressed hard upon ye frontiers, killing diverse of our men who traveled negligently as also many cattle and hoggs in so much that ye people cried out aloud for marches, which they should not have needed to do, had I not wanted ammunition, which was not by them considered (Kemp 1645).

Once again, however, the native people of the Northern Neck escaped destruction, in part because of their stated neutrality. Captain Claiborne testified that the natives of this region were “different from the others in relation to the propriety of [undertaking] war upon the Indians between the Rappahannock and Potomac” (McIlwaine 1924:501), and a commission was issued to him “to treat with the Rappahannocks or any other Indians not in amity with Opechancanough, concerning serving the country against the Pamunkeys” (McIlwaine 1924:563).

As remarkable as was the initial effectiveness of Opechancanough’s second coup, it seemed only to strengthen English resolve. In order to be better prepared for any subsequent Indian attacks, the Assembly proposed to build three small forts or surveillance posts at strategic locations on the colony’s frontier: Fort Charles at the falls of the James River, Fort James on the Chickahominy River at Moysenac,⁹ and Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River near Manquin Creek. At Fort Royall, in the Pamunkey heartland, armed men were to maintain vigilance over the tribe that had played a major role in both uprisings. Carpenters and other workers were pressed into service as were the men needed to garrison each stronghold (Hening 1809-1823, 1:293-294, 315, 327).

All three forts, which were built by private citizens who received land in exchange for their services, were expected to provide surveillance for the colony’s frontier and to offer a measure of protection to outlying settlers. Fort James, located on the upper side of Diascund Creek, at Moysenac in what is now New Kent County, was built by Thomas Rolfe, the son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, in exchange for the land upon which it stood. Captain Roger Marshall, who was to build Fort Royall (“alias Ricahack ffort”) and maintain it for three years and keep it manned, was to receive 600 acres of adjoining land. Later, Marshall and Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwell were credited with displaying great valor during combat with the Indians. Captain William Byrd I was responsible for building Fort Charles at the falls of the James River. Efforts also were made to hire Accomack or Rappahannock Indians to serve as guides “for the further discovery of the enemy” (Hening 1809-1823, 1:293, 315, 327; Nugent 1969-1979, 1:187, 234, 249, 255, 403, 411; 2:222; Force 1963, 2:7:6).

⁹ It was located on the Chickahominy River, close to the colonized area; this suggests that in 1644 the Chickahominy Indians had been living close by.

The English newspaper *Mercurius Civicus* reported on May 15, 1645, that news from Virginia indicated that:

Wee are now providing three forts in the middle of the Country being the King's territory, which is not far from us, so that wee may have a power amongst them able to destroy them and deprive them of their livelihood. . . the most convenient [way] to extirpate and subdue this people that so much annoy us
(Frank 1957:85).

The failure of the second coup, and the capture and murder of Opechancanough in 1645, heralded the Powhatan Chiefdom's demise. Loss of senior leadership, many casualties, and the destruction of their villages and corn fields further weakened the survivors, while many of the Pamunkey warriors who had been taken prisoner when Governor Berkeley stormed Opechancanough's stronghold were transported by ship from the mainland to Western (now Tangier) Island in the Chesapeake Bay, where they were abandoned. and their subsequent fate unknown. It is thought that all Indian males age 11 or over who were judged to have been involved in the uprising were so treated (Hening 1809-1823, 1:237, 239, 277, 293, 296, 315, 318, 323-329, 386, 410; Beverley 1705:49-50, 60-61; McIlwaine 1924:564; Force 1963, 2:8:1). Nevertheless, the survivors remained stubbornly elusive. Late in 1646, the Assembly noted that, "they being dispersed and driven from their towns and habitations, lurking up and downe the wood in small numbers" it was sensible to conclude a peace treaty (Hening 1809-1823, 1:315, 318, 327).

The 1646 Treaty

In October, 1646 Necotowance, called "Emperor of the Indians," and acknowledged as Opechancanough's successor, ceded much of the remaining Powhatan territory to the English and acknowledged that Native right to the possession of the remaining land was derived from the English monarch. In so doing, he accepted tributary status, not unlike what Powhatan and Opechancanough had formerly imposed on subordinate tribes in the region (Hening 1809-1823, 1:323-329). As a further concession, Necotowance agreed to let Virginia's governors appoint or confirm their leaders.

The terms of the treaty also stated that all Natives entering the ceded territory could be lawfully slain unless they were garbed in "a coat of striped stuff," and then only

as official messengers. All Indian trade was to be conducted at Fort Henry on the Appomattox River and Fort Royall on the Pamunkey River's Moncuin (Manquin) Creek, the locations at which the special coats were to be kept when not in use. In return, the Virginia government agreed to protect the Tributary Indians from their enemies. In November 1647 two additional check-points were established for the use of Indians needing to enter the ceded territory on official business. One was Captain William Tayloe's house¹⁰ at Chiskiack (abutting King's Creek) in York County, and the other was at Captain Edward Hill's house at Westover in Charles City County (Hening 1809-1823, 1:323-329, 348, 354).¹¹

Significantly, the 1646 treaty, like the earlier treaty of 1642, specified that all of the land north of the York River be reserved to the use of the Natives. The English, in return, were to abandon their plantations to the west of Poropotank Creek. Settlers already seated there were ordered to withdraw both their livestock and their possessions (Hening 1809-1823, 1:323-329). Even so, in November 1647 Captain Edward Hill of Shirley Hundred received permission to seat at Nanzattico (on the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River), where he and his associates were to be granted "a convenient portion of land" and the right to enjoy "the sole trade of the Bay of Chisopeake [*sic*] within the Lymitts of Virginia," with the exception of trading which might be done by certain residents of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Hill was obliged to keep 40 men upon his land at Nanzattico "with sufficient Armes and Ammunition and to bee ready with them at all tymes to serve the Countrey out of duty in case of enmity with the salvages"; to supply the colony with corn at the price of 100 pounds of tobacco per barrel; to return all runaway servants and fugitives; and to be prepared to evacuate the inhabitants of remote plantations, in the event of an emergency. He also was to ensure that his men at Nanzattico "seate and inhabite in one intire fforte sufficient for defence and not otherwise, the said ffort not exceeding five Acres at most." In exchange for fulfilling these obligations, Hill was entitled to enjoy his trade monopoly for eleven years, with full authorization to seize the vessels and goods of other traders who were found bartering

¹⁰ William Tayloe was married to Elizabeth, the daughter of ancient planter Richard Kingsmill of Jamestown Island.

¹¹ In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, published in 1787, Thomas Jefferson incorrectly stated that the Chickahominies moved to the Mattaponi River drainage in 1661 (Jefferson 1955:96).

with the Natives (Stanard 1915:250-255). No documentary records as yet have come to light that disclose whether Hill established a fortified trading post at Nanzattico (Hening 1809-1823, 1:323-329, 354).

In 1652, Hill patented another 4,000 acres of land at Nanzattico, acreage that lay directly across the Rappahannock from Portobago, another Indian settlement. The acreage to which he laid claim reportedly included the Asasaticon (Nanzattico) Town and was near the Warisqucock Indian Town. As Hill obtained his patent on the basis of only eighty head rights, he may not have seated the obligatory number of armed men at Nanzattico in 1647. In December 1656, Sir Henry Chicheley also patented 2,200 acres that lay at Nanzattico “opposite to Port Tobacco” and abutted east on Poythress (Porteus or Jett) Creek. The two men lodged seemingly conflicting claims. When Colonel Hill’s son and heir, Captain Edward Hill, repatented his father’s 4,000 acres at Nanzattico “opposite to Poretobacco” in 1664, the Ausaticon (Nanzattico) Town’s existence was again mentioned (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:324, 334, 457). Thus, the Hills may have been more interested in Indian trade than in clearing the land and planting tobacco. Chicheley, like the Hills, strengthened his entitlement to the “land called Nanzattico,” for he obtained a court order in 1674 contending that some acreage adjoining his patent had been deserted (McIlwaine 1924:365).

ENGLISH SETTLEMENT OF THE LOWER POTOMAC DRAINAGE

English settlement in the southerly portion of the Potomac River valley was initiated in 1640 when Marylander John Mottram became established at Coan near Heathsville in what is now Northumberland County. In York County he “took up” no land and, at first, it seems, made his own terms with the Indians for the land he occupied at Coan Hall, winning immediately the friendship of Marchywap, “King” of the local tribe, known as the Secacaonies. Later, county records show, when there was trouble between the whites and the Indians, King Marchywap sided with the settlers and six white men were appointed to protect him.

Mottrom’s settlement soon became the headquarters for all Protestants at odds with Lord Baltimore’s Catholic rule in Maryland, and they “were regarded as notorious enemies to the Lord Proprietor.” In 1646, these former Maryland residents were proclaimed “Rebells and Robbers” (Sweeny 1936). When Mottram died, Thomas Speke

became the guardian of his children. In common with 96 other men, Mottram and Speke had previously signed Oaths of Allegiance in Northumberland County to support the Commonwealth of England, as did Andrew Monro and Walter Broadhurst, who became Speke's brother-in-law. Andrew Monro, former resident of St. Mary's County, Maryland, "disaffected with the Catholic rule there, crossed over to Chickacoun" in 1647 (Carr et al. 1984:1). He returned to Scotland the next year, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Preston and banished to America, where, once again, he settled in Northumberland County.

Dr. Thomas Gerard of St. Clement's Manor, Maryland had also had the foresight to acquire property in Westmoreland County, to which he retreated when he was banished from Maryland for taking part in the insurrection of Josias Fendall in 1659 (Tyler 1907:36). Gerard's Jesuit uncle had been tortured and executed for his part in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 but other members of his family had helped to finance the colonization of Maryland. Dr. Gerard was granted more than 16,000 acres at St. Clements Hundred, Maryland, in 1634. Although himself a Catholic, he married Susannah Snowe, the Protestant daughter of Lord Baltimore's factor in the Indian trade, and they raised their eight children as Protestants, including Anne and Frances, who would each, in turn, marry John Washington (Tyler 1907:36).

A number of English settlers in what was to become Westmoreland County had ties to native people in the region. For example, Nathaniel, the son of Colonel Nathaniel Pope, married Mary Sisson, the sister of "Daniel Sisson, interpreter for the Indians" (Beale 1904:193). In 1659, John Gibbon had visited Richard Lee at his home in Machodoc. A future (1670) Blue Mantle Pursuivant of Arms in the Herald's College, Gibbon's "love or passion for heraldry found a singular gratification at a war dance of the native Indians, their shields of bark and naked bodies being painted with the colors and symbols of his favorite science" (Tyler 1907:31).

Col. Giles Brent, the former acting governor of Maryland, and his sisters, Mary and Margaret Brent, were prominent Catholics who settled in Maryland in 1638 (Carr et al. 1984:1). Margaret Brent served as joint guardian of Mary, the daughter of the Piscataway "Emperor" Kittomaquand (Carr et al. 1984:1). Kittomaquand had been converted to Christianity in 1640, and, the next year, he "brought his daughter, seven years old... to be educated among the English at St. Mary's, and [asked that] when she

shall well understand the Christian mysteries [she] be washed in the sacred font of baptism. “ By 1642, Mary had been baptized and was reportedly fluent in English.

In 1644, Giles Brent, who was then about forty years old, married eleven-year-old Mary Kittomaquand, with his sister Margaret’s permission. Lord Baltimore feared that this unlikely marriage would empower Giles Brent to claim Indian lands in his wife’s name without a proprietary grant. By 1650, “his wrath had driven all the Brents to remove to the Northern Neck of Virginia where they brought in dozens of settlers” (Carr et al. 1984:2).

On April 4, 1651, the *werowance* Accopatough, “the true and right Born King of the Indians of the Rappahannoc Town and Townes,” deeded the land east of Totusky Creek to his “brother,” Moore Fauntleroy. This grant was confirmed in Jamestown by his successor, Taweeren, the great King of the Rappahannock and Monatoerin [Moraughtacund?], and a man named Machamap who was possibly the Moraughtacund *werowance* (Rountree 1990:118). Later that year, Lord Baltimore described in a letter to Governor Stone:

the Tract of Land which lyeth between the creek or River that runneth by Patowomeck town called in the mapp Patowmeck, and the River which runneth by Piscataway (called in the mapps aforesaid by the name of Piscataway) River, on the north, in which last tract is included, as we are informed, that place where Mr. Giles Brent now resides, called by him ‘Peace,’ and also the country there called the Doages [Doegs?]
(*William & Mary Quarterly* 1905:280)

Baltimore authorized Stone to grant land in those areas to any adventurer who would “seat a Plantation of English” (*William & Mary Quarterly* 1905:280) there and to give generous headrights of 100 acres.

The Act of 1653 also provided that:

the bounds of the county of Westmoreland be as followeth (vizt) from Machoactoke River where Mr. Cole lives, and so upwards to the falls of the great river of Powtomake above the Necastins Towne.” [Necastins Town is most likely Anacostia on the eastern shore of the Potomac.]

As English settlement on the Northern Neck increased, disputes between the colonists and Native people there became more common. Isaac Allerton, a Plymouth, Massachusetts colonist with experience in dealing with the indigenous people there, planted a settlement on Machodoc Creek near Machoatigue, also known as Indiantown. This settlement abutted or encroached upon the territories of a group which included

the Onawmanients (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:7). The Machodoc *werowance* Pertatoan, and his councilors Wonussaromen, Terossamoh, and Tahorts, complained of Allerton's encroachment, but they also agreed to tolerate his presence if he respected their boundaries. Apparently he did not, and the Machodoc abandoned their town on the lower Machodoc Creek to Allerton and consolidated their residence at a principal town further up the creek, where they became known as Appomattox (Rountree 1990:122; Billings 1972:231).

Surveyor Gervase Dodson similarly claimed the Lower Cuttatawomen's town at the headwaters of Fleet's Bay (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:343; Rountree 1990:122). The Cuttatawomen had moved to join the Wiccocomico there the year before (Lancaster County 1651-1700, 2:191). Dodson had every opportunity to explore and assess the best available lands, which he and other settlers had forced Native people to abandon. Dodson also patented abandoned Indian towns up the peninsula on the south side of the Potomac River. By September 1657, he had patented 8,150 acres around the Machodoc town (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:205, 235, 256, 373).

In Northumberland County, the court forced the Chicacoan and Wiccocomico communities to merge. When the Wiccocomico moved from their home on the Great Wicomico River in the mid-1650s, south to Dividing Creek to join the Chicacoan, the Commonwealth governor, Samuel Mathews, patented the Wiccocomico's abandoned land. To add insult to injury, the county court recognized Machywap, the Chicacoan *werowance*, as the leader of the combined groups, to which were joined the Cuttatawomen as well. This newly-forged community lived on a reserve near Dividing Creek (Northumberland County 1666-1672:35, 39, 54). By January 1656/7, the Wiccocomico had threatened Machywap's life. A fearful Machywap complained to the Northumberland commissioners, who provided him six English bodyguards at the county's expense to protect him for ten months (Northumberland County 1652-1665: 35, 39, 54).

In some cases, Indian people of the Northern Neck successfully petitioned to the English authorities concerning their rights. In August 1658, for example, the Patawomeck had a dispute with Giles Brent over nonpayment for land that Brent had seated. The Westmoreland County militia commander, Col. Gerard Fowke, mediated an agreement between Brent and the Patawomeck whereby Brent agreed to give the Patawomeck *werowance* "a cow and a calfe for all ye land that ye said Capt. Brent had

patented” (Fowke 1899:23-24; Westmoreland County 1653-1671:75; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:178-79). The Wiccocomico also went to Jamestown to lodge a complaint with Berkeley against the former commonwealth governor, Colonel Samuel Mathews. The Wiccocomico complained that Mathews had not paid for the 5,211 acres that he purchased from them while he was governor. The patent had been recorded in 1657 by the commonwealth assembly “but not how justly acquired nor whether voluntary or not.” Governor Berkeley ordered that “a consideration of ffiftie pounds vallew, bee proffered to the Indians for the said land by the guardians of the Coll. Mathewes his heire” (Fowke 1899:23-24; Westmoreland County 1653-1671:75, *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:178-79, 1934). Fifty pounds was a considerable sum and far more than tribes typically received, whether they moved from their towns voluntarily or by force.

It was within the context of these conflicts and negotiations with the Native people of the Northern Neck that the establishment of John Washington’s holdings can be understood (for detailed discussion of these holdings, see pp. 119ff). Hercules Bridges patented 200 acres later known as “Haywood” on the north side of Bridges’ Creek in 1651. This property also was known in early patent records as “Fishing Creek” or “Cedar Island Creeke.” Possibly a native fishing camp at the time of English settlement, Cedar Island is the site of a shell heap, thought to mark the location of an earlier Native settlement. Opposite the island, on the mainland, human remains and potsherds have been discovered, suggesting some permanent settlement in the area (Eaton 1942:11). Other early patentees, including Richard Cole and David Anderson (about whom little is known), patented a tract of land known as “Indiantown,” site of a former native village on Bridges’ Creek. Richard Cole sold his patent to David Anderson, who sold it in turn to John Washington (Eaton 1942:1). Richard Cole was related in some way to Henry Brooks, another early settler, with lands along the Potomac River and Bridges’ Creek, and was appointed his overseer at Brooks’ death in 1662 (see Map 2). Nathaniel Pope, an emigrant, patented 1000 acres which were later known as the “Blagg” land in 1651. That Native people occupied this territory is evident from several shell heaps or “mounds” along the Creek (Eaton 1942: 11). With John Washington and Thomas Pope, Nathaniel Pope owned all the land from present-day Oak Grove to Index, bordering on Mattox Creek. Part of this land was repatented to Ann Pope Washington, Washington’s first wife. Thus, John Washington and his contemporaries participated in the common colonial strategy of dispossession, undermining Native claims to territories on the

Northern Neck, and in the establishment of “reserves” that effectively reduced Native mobility and access to their ancestral lands.

The Creation of Native Preserves or Reservations and the Protection of Indian Settlements

By the late 1630s, English settlement on the Eastern Shore settlement had become so dense that a 1,500-acre tract was assigned to the Accomac (Gingoskin) Indians in December 1640. This was Virginia’s first officially sanctioned Indian preserve or reservation. Patent research reveals that the Gingoskin were given a land mass now known as Indiantown Neck (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:77, 150, 183; 2:211-212; McIlwaine 1924:478; Northampton County 1632-1718, 2:281). As non-combatants in the 1622 uprising, Governor Berkeley granted them protection from attack and encroachment. In 1656 Wackawamp and other Accomac Indians asked for similarly legally protected land and in 1660 orders were given that a special tract be surveyed and laid out for them. This property was described in 1673 as 650 acres, the same land that had been awarded to them in December 1640 (Hening 1809-1823, 2:13-15; Nugent 1969-1979, 2:221-212; McIlwaine 1924:353; Northampton County 1711-1718:33-34). Another reserve was established for the Pamunkey in 1649 (McIlwaine 1924: 365,478,493,499, 504, 518),

Elsewhere in the colony, the desire for arable land, largely confined to the alluvial plains adjoining the regions principal rivers, caused English leaders to negotiate land exchanges with the Indian people then living along those rivers. In 1652, the Grand Assembly resolved to assign to several Indian groups, in exchange for large land cessions, tracts that were reserved exclusively to their occupancy. It also enacted a law whereby:

all the Indians of the collonye shall hold and keep those seats of land that they now have and no person or persons whatsoever [shall] be suffered to Intrench or plant upon such places as the Indians claim or desire untill full leave from the Governor and Council or Commissioners of that place.

The legislators noted that:

many Complaints have been brought to this Assemblye touching wrongs done to the Indians in takinge away their lands or fforcing them into such Narrow Streights, and places that they cannot Subsist, either planting or hunting. . . that thereby they may bee justly Driven to dispaire and to Attempt some Desperate course for themselves
(Billings 1975:72).

Just as specific tracts had been assigned to the Eastern Shore's Accomack Indians in 1640 and to the Pamunkey, Chiskiack, and Weyanoke in 1649, during the early 1650s acreage was assigned to the Rappahannock, Totusky, Moratticund, Mattaponi, Portobago, Chickahominy, Nanzattico, Nansemond, and upper Nansemond (Mangomixon), and perhaps others as well. Many of these Native preserves lay in the Middle Peninsula or Northern Neck. Though the destruction of the General Court's records for this period and extant county records' frustrating lack of detail leave the boundaries of most of these tracts open to conjecture, their general locations may be deduced from geographical references that are contained in patents and other court documents. Deeds and patents that make reference to the Native preserves' boundary lines indicate that some (if not all) of the tracts had been surveyed and physically demarcated (McIlwaine 1924:365, 478, 493, 499, 504, 508, 518; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915: 1660-1693:11; Hening 1809-1823, 2:35, 161-162; Billings 1975:65-72; Lancaster County 1651-1700, 3:125-126; Nugent 1969-1979, 3:19; Old Rappahannock County 1656-1668, 2:250). For example, Sir Thomas Lunsford of Rich Neck, secured a patent for 3,423 acres of land on the lower side of the Rappahannock River, within territory set aside for the Nanzattico and Portobago Indians. Secretary of the Colony Ralph Wormeley claimed 10,000 acres on the Rappahannock River, a patent that reportedly encompassed the old and new Nimcock Indian towns. Wormeley also patented a massive tract in Pamunkey Neck that impinged upon the Natives' territory (McIlwaine 1924:41, 227, 365, 400, 493, 517; Nugent 1969-1979, 1:181, 200).

In March 1658, the Commonwealth assembly again confirmed Indians' land title to protect the tribes against aggressive speculators, acknowledging that aggressive settlement was "forceing them into such narrow streights and places they cannot subsist either by planting or hunting." The assembly guaranteed tribes

the proportion of fffiftie acres of land for each bowman; and the proportion for each perticular towne to lie together, and to be surveyed as well woodland as cleered ground, and to be layd out before pattented, with libertie of all waste and unfenced land for hunting (Hening 1809-1823, 1:456-57, 467-68; Oberg 1999b:187-89).

The assembly had ordered planters on the Northern Neck to "purchase the said land of the Indians or relinquish the same" (Fowke 1899:23-24; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:178-79; 1934:456-57). However, in spite of these efforts to protect native people, harassment continued. In early 1661/2, the Rappahannock *werowance*

Wachicopa and his councilors were on their way to Jamestown with “the Roanoake” to pay their annual tribute to the governor. Fauntleroy captured and imprisoned the Rappahannock leaders, took the governor’s tribute as “ransome” for their release, and then took them to Jamestown where he accused them of not paying their tribute to the governor. At Jamestown, Wachicopa complained that Fauntleroy had not only incarcerated him and his councilors unfairly, but Fauntleroy had yet to pay the thirty match coats as ordered. The assembly concluded that Fauntleroy “did falsely and scandalously declare that he bound the King & great men of Rappa. for denying their tribute to the Right Honourable Sir William Berkeley.” For this and “other illegal proceedings the said Colonel ffauntleroy be made wholly incapable of bearing any office or Command Civill or military in this Country.” He was ordered to pay Wachicopa fifteen match coats before he left Jamestown and the remainder when their differences were settled. Fauntleroy was also penalized for his hogs’ trespasses onto the Rappahannock’s fields and ordered “to keep one hogg Keeper & the Indians another” until Fauntleroy himself fenced the Indians’ crops (Henning 1809-1823, 2:152-53; Old Rappahannock County 1656-1668, 2:249, Sweeny 1938:298).

A similar situation occurred on the Potomac River that same month as the Patowomeck *werowance*, Captain Giles Brent, and Colonel Gerard Fowkes jailed Wahanganoche. Captain George Mason and John Lord were also implicated in this illegal imprisonment, and all four were fined. As the assembly had done with Fauntleroy, so the governor banned both Brent and Fowkes from holding office in the colony, and he made them “give bond. . . of ffifteen thousand pounds of tobacco. . . for their good behavior.” He fined Mason and Lord “two thousand pounds of tobacco.” Additionally, all four men had to pay Wahanganoche 500 “armes length of roanoke. . . or that they pay and deliver him presently Matchcoates for the said roanoake. . . at twenty armes length [for] every coate” (Hening 1809-1823, 2:149-52; McIlwaine 1924, 2:14-15).

In March 1661/2, the governor and Assembly codified the colony’s Indian laws to control frontier violence and establish the rights and responsibilities of settlers and Indians alike. Governor Berkeley was in England at the time, but his lieutenant governor, Francis Moryson, acted on Berkeley’s behalf and pressed the House of Burgesses to codify the colony’s Indian laws (Hening 1809-1823, 2:vii; Oberg 1999b:188-89). In doing so, the Assembly was clear on the source of that violence: “mutuall discontents, complaints, jealousies and ffeares of English and Indians proceed chiefly from the

violent intrusions of diverse English made into their lands forcing Indians by way of revenge to kill the cattle and hogs of the English.” Fueled by “the hostile intentions of each other,” frontier planters and Indian townsfolk took revenge as they could “and by that means injuries being done on both sides, reports and rumours are spread of tending infinitely to the disturbance of the peace” (Hening 1809-1823, 2:138).

As Berkeley and Moryson saw it, frontier settlers frightened tributary Indians and cheated them out of their land. Even though all Indian land sales had to be “acknowledged at Generall courts or assembly,” Berkeley knew that “it is as easy to affright them [Indians] to a publique as well as private acknowledgment” of English land purchases. He also knew that “corrupt interpreters often added to this mischief by rendering them willing to surrender [their land] when indeed they intended to have received a confirmation of their owne rights.” To prevent “an inevitable and destructive warre,” Berkeley’s act instructed county sheriffs to remove settlers “from their seates of land thus wrongfully incroached, and all houses by them built upon the said lands be demolished and burned.” Those settlers who had “a colourable [legitimate] right” to Indian lands and were seated within three miles of an Indian town “for the prevention of injuries done to the Indians by the said Englishmens hoggs and cattle shall, send such numbers of hands. . . to helpe the Indians to ffence in a corne ffield proportionable to the number of persons the said Indian towne doth consist off.”¹² However, Indians were responsible for maintaining those fences.

Also, it was apparent to Berkeley that the fifty acres per bowman allotment and fenced fields were not, in themselves, enough to protect Indian corn or feed Indian communities. Berkeley warned against unscrupulous settlers who ignored the laws designed to protect Indians and who had forced Indians “from their wonted conveniences of oystering, ffishing and gathering tuckahoe, cuttyemnions or other wild fruites,” which the Indians needed “for a greate parte of the yeare to subsist.” He noted that when settlers saw Indians hunting and foraging they sometimes mistook them for “foreign Indians” and shot them (Rountree 1990:91, 94, 129).

Both to prevent the routine killing of Indians by settlers, and to “secure the English from the Indians comeing in and pilfering things,” Berkeley proposed an Indian

¹² Hening 1809-1823, 2:138-40. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “colourable” as “Having an appearance of truth or right; specious, plausible, fair-seeming.”

identification system. Each *werowance* was to receive a badge “of silver & copper plate,” which the tributary Indians were required to obtain from their *werowance* and wear when they traveled “within the English bounds.” When they wanted “to oyster or gather wild fruite,” they had to obtain a license from “two of the justices of the county.” Those licenses were valid for a limited time and for a particular place. Indians were not allowed to carry guns “but only such tooles or implements as serve for the end of their comeing.” To further protect Indians, Englishmen were not allowed to take away badges from Indians “thereby to make the Indians guilty of breaking this law,” and “if any Englishman shall presume to . . . kill, wound or maime any indian, he shall suffer as if he had done the same to an Englishman” (Hening 1809-1823, 2:139-42). However, this guarantee of equal treatment under English law was a small comfort to people who had been alienated from much of their territory by English settlers and their fences.

Berkeley reminded the county justices of their duty to protect Indians in person and property. To prevent unwarranted Indian imprisonments, like those that occurred at Patawomeck and Rappahannock, the governor ordered that “noe person of what quality soever presume to imprison any Indian King without special warrant from the governor and two of the councell.” Berkeley also required that “uninterested [i.e., impartial] commissioners. . . goe with parties of horse to the severall Indian towns, and there to proclaime these and the following articles of peace betweene us and the Indians, to settle the bounds betweene us, and to appoint others of the most integrity to ffix the time and asseesse the worke to helpe the Indians ffences” (Oberg 1999a, 1999b:188-89).

Berkeley’s “uninterested commissioner” in Rappahannock County was Thomas Ludwell. Ludwell had been born in the same parish as Berkeley (Bruton, Somerset), he was related to Berkeley by marriage, and he was the secretary of the colony under Berkeley (Webb 1984:50-51). In March 1661/2, when the assembly convened, the Mattaponi *werowance* complained to Moryson about the continuous English violence against his people and incessant pressure to relent their lands. Initially, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Goodrich was “summoned to appeare before the honourable governour,” but apparently, the Mattaponi-Goodrich complaint was resolved locally (Hening 1809-1823, 2:155). There is no record of Goodrich’s court appearance in Jamestown, but in August, the Rappahannock county court adhered to the governor’s Indian laws that the tribes be paid for their land or that the encroached Englishmen be removed. Justice Ludwell ordered three Englishmen, absent Goodrich, to pay the

werowance fifty match coats.¹³ The Mattaponi *werowance*, Toppyoninoun, also complained to Thomas Ludwell at the Rappahannock county court that several Englishmen had broken into their temple and stolen several “skins.” Ludwell ordered the perpetrators, including Francis Brown, to pay Toppyoninoun six match coats as reparation (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1669:279-82; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:298-300).

The Displacement of Native Americans on the Northern Neck

At that same session of Rappahannock County court, the Moraughtacund complained to Ludwell that an excess of illegal English settlement on prime Moraughtacund land had made it difficult for them to feed their families. To add insult to injury, most of the English patents had been seated without payment to the Moraughtacund. The Moraughtacund rejected the idea of removal for fear that “if they should be removed” and allotted new land they “might probably be undone.” The Moraughtacund solution was to have their lands confirmed and be paid for those lands English patentees had unlawfully occupied. The Rappahannock County commissioners agreed and confirmed to the Moraughtacund 2,000 acres along Totuskey Creek and extending “a mile into the woods and from these bounds three miles intervall according to Law.” Englishmen who had “seated within three miles of the bounds of the said King... [were to] pay unto the said King one matchcoat for Every hundred acres they claime.” To prevent English livestock from destroying Moraughtacund crops, the English who lived on Moraughtacund land were ordered to help the tribe to “sufficiently fence to keep out hoggs and Catle [from] the Cornfields” in compliance with colonial law (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1669:279-82; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:298-300).

Instead of conducting a new survey, Rappahannock County commissioners restated verbatim the September 1653 survey of the Rappahannock’s land as beginning “at Rappa Creek Extending to the north East branch of Totuskey Creek including all the lands between the Creeks into the heads thereof also three mile without the same

¹³ Old Rappahannock County 1663-1668:279-82; Sweeny 1938. The particular role that Goodrich played is uncertain, although six years later, the Mattaponi had yet to receive full payment, and Goodrich assumed ownership of two of the three patents after he agreed to pay the Mattaponi in full. See Sweeny (1936:592) and Rountree (1999:114).

bounds.” Of course, exceptions were granted to Englishmen already seated within these bounds, and one settler, to show his contempt for the governor’s Indian policy, claimed another 500 acres of Rappahannock land “beginning at the Creeke next to the Courthouse runing a mile into the woods and the rest along the rivers side” (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1669:279-82; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:298-300). The Rappahannock County justices did not update the Rappahannock *werowance*’s name nor did they remove the statute that approved killing Indians: “And if it shall so happen that any Indian bee taken in the act of killing hoggs or cattle, it shall be lawful for the ptie or pties that shall finde such Indian or Indians in the act to kill hym or them from wch hee or they shall be acquitted.”¹⁴ Ostensibly, the assembly hoped to detect English encroachment and curtail English hostility toward Indians (Rountree 1990:94). In reality, it made little difference as frontier squatters were seldom removed.

Later, during conflicts with the Susquehannocks, the Rappahannock moved to a fortified village between the Mattaponi and the Rappahannock rivers, three miles northwest of the present town of Tappahannock. In 1682, 4000 acres were set aside there for the use of the Rappahannocks, although only 3,474 acres were allotted to them, most of which were located in the county of Essex, near the mouth of the branch of the Mattaponi River in Upper King and Queen County.

Along the Northern Neck frontier, where English settlements were few and upriver, and Indian towns were militant and in league against encroachment, Indian retribution terrified English settlers.¹⁵ At Thomas White’s plantation, in the “freshes” of the upper Rappahannock River, unknown native assailants ritually murdered Thomas’s son and two of his servants. A third servant, John Evans, “Escaped out of the house at that time when the murther was Committed” and ran for help. Those sent to investigate found a truly gruesome sight. Each of the victims had their “skull beaten in over the Eye.” One servant, Daniell Pignell, was killed with “an ax as we conceived by the bigness of the hole in the Skull.” Pignell had been decapitated, and by the time the investigators arrived,

¹⁴ “[Rappahannock] Indian Affairs in Lancaster County,” *William & Mary Quarterly* (1896:178). Toweren was the Rappahannock *werowance* in 1653 at the time of the first survey. He was killed by the militia in 1655 and was replaced by Wachicopa, who was presumably the *werowance* in 1662.

¹⁵ See Hening (1809-1823, 2) where the Patowomeck *werowance* is forbidden from holding council “with any strange nation without knowledge of the aforesaid officers of the militia” (page 194); Oberg 1999b:189-90.

wolves had torn apart his body and dragged it to a nearby swamp” (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1669:201-2; *William & Mary Quarterly* 1907:297-98).

Subsequently, the Assembly acted to avenge these killings. This specific measure was aimed at the Rappahannock’s neighbors, the Patawomeck, “and all the rest of the “northerne Indians Weroances,” including the Doeg, Piscataway, and Susquehannock, all of whom lived north of the Potomac River, who continually raided English plantations, and threatened expansion on the Northern Neck. The language in this measure was harsh and precise. The “northerne Indians” were to deliver their children as hostages:

[A]nd if they or any of them shall refuse to deliver such hostages as shall be required, that the nation to be declared as an enemy and proceeded against accordingly. . . . And as we have endeavoured for the future to provide for the safety of the country that such hostages be delivered as shall be required, soe it is also enacted that the hostages to be delivered shall be civilly used and treated by the English to whose charge they shall be delivered, and that they be brought up in the English literature (soe far as they are capable)
(Sweeny 1936:312).

In June, 1666, goaded by reports of purported and real attacks, the Northern Neck justices petitioned for and received from Governor Berkeley permission to employ their militia to “Destroy all these Northern Indians [as it] Twill be a great Terror and Example & Instrucon to all other Indians.” To defray the cost to the county, Berkeley gave the county justices permission to capture and sell the “Women & Children” into slavery (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1669:57-58, Sweeny 1936:591; McIlwaine 1924:488-89). Berkeley was convinced that the captives and booty seized from the Indians would more than pay for the cost of the war and offered the excess to those willing to fight. His councilors cheerfully endorsed the proposition, as did several of Old Rappahannock County’s justices who were patentees of Indian land (McIlwaine 1924:488; Old Rappahannock County 1663-1668:23).

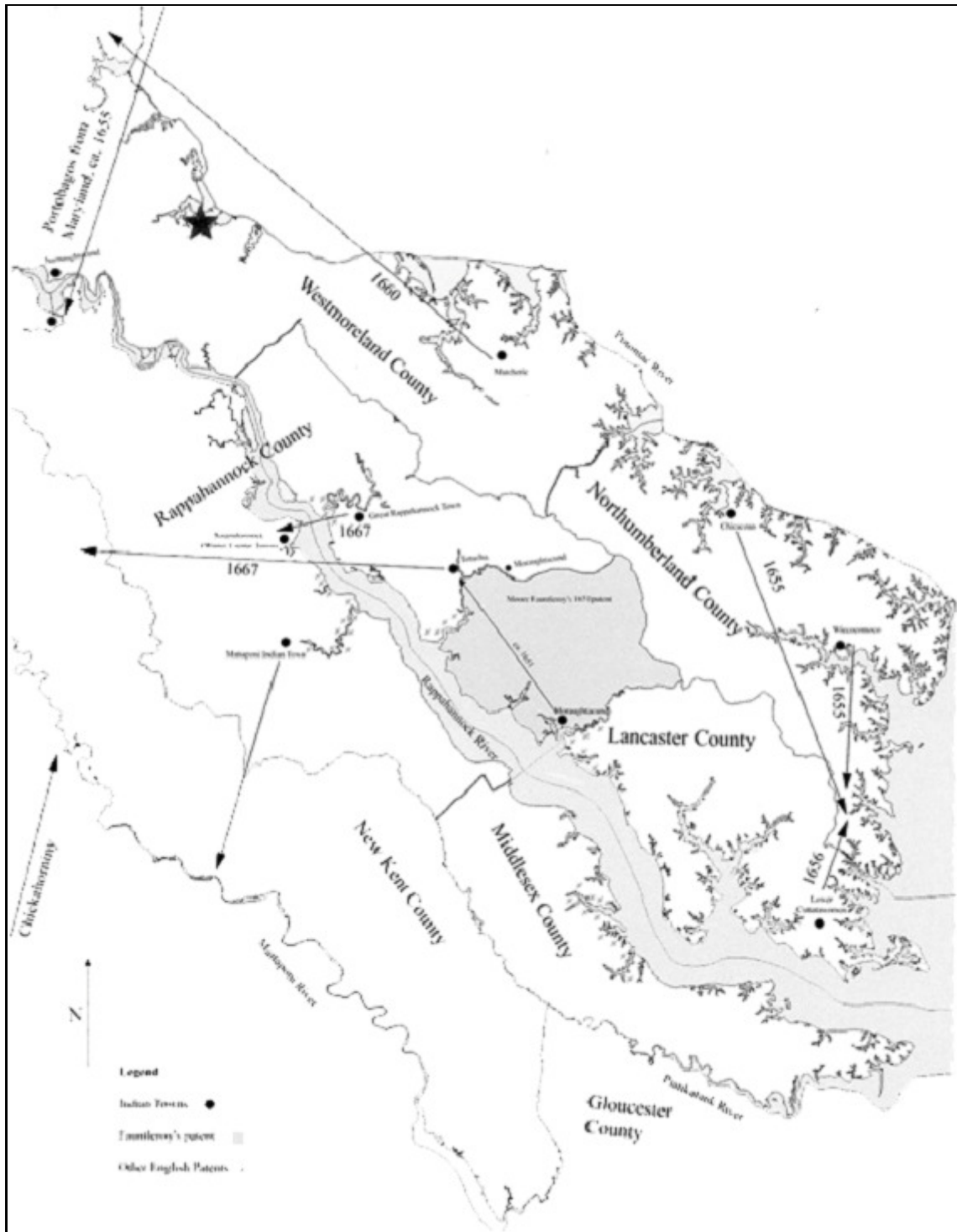
The Rappahannock County militia duly attacked the Indians towns of Doeg, Nansemond, Portobacco, and Patawomeck. The Doeg retreated to Maryland, but the Patawomeck disappeared after this, and it is probable that their survivors joined other Indian refugees, probably the Machodoc and Portobacco who lived at Nanzattico, and so managed to avoid complete dispersal (Rountree 1990:122). Nantaughtacund and Portobacco *werowances* still ruled these towns and were answerable to colonial

authorities for those who lived there, but they were not always able to control their residents (McIlwaine 1924:361,515).

Not satisfied with this result, settlers on the Northern Neck continued to press for the punishment and removal of Native people. In Northumberland County in 1668, Andrew Pettigrew complained “against the great men the Indians of Wiccocomako” (Billings et al. 1986: 231). Because “Owasawas [Appeneman?] and Chicatomen [had promised] to bring Norwas, an Indian who hath entertained a run away mayd servant of the said Pettegrews, to this court” (Billings et al. 1986:231) The two Indians were sentenced to prison without bail, “until that they produce the said mayd” (Billings et al. 1986:231). Another case concerned an accusation against the “Indians of Wecocomaco” who were said to have broken into the house of Robert Jones in 1669. It is unclear from the records whether these attacks were actually perpetrated by Indians, or merely excuses for their further oppression.

Harried and dispossessed, the remaining natives of the Northern Neck began to congregate at Nanzattico. In 1669, the Nanzattico and Matthehatique Indians reportedly had 50 bowmen living in Old Rappahannock County, whereas the Portobago had 60 (Hening 1809-1823, 2:274-275). The Nanzattico Indians’ preserve not only encompassed acreage on the upper side of the Rappahannock River, in the area traditionally known as Nanzattico, but also extended across the river into the territory between Portobago and Goldenvale Creeks. In 1669, the Nanzattico and Portobago collectively had 110 warriors, a figure that would have entitled them to an aggregate of 5,500 acres under the system of allocating 50 acres per bowman. To the west of the Nanzattico habitat, on the north side of the Rappahannock River, were the Nansemond, whose town in 1667 encompassed an estimated 5,275 acres, an amount that suggests that they had 55 to 56 warriors.¹⁶ Thus, in the Portobago Bay-Nanzattico Bay area, nearly 11,000 acres of land had been assigned to Native Americans as preserves (Hening 1809-1823, 2:275). Patents for land on the southern side of the Rappahannock River demonstrate that Nanzattico land ran west as far as Port Royal and east to Portobago Creek. Augustine Herrman’s map (1673), drawn in 1670, shows the habitation of the Doeg Indians just west of Omen Creek, and

¹⁶ The connection between these Nansemond and those who lived on the south side of the James River is unclear.



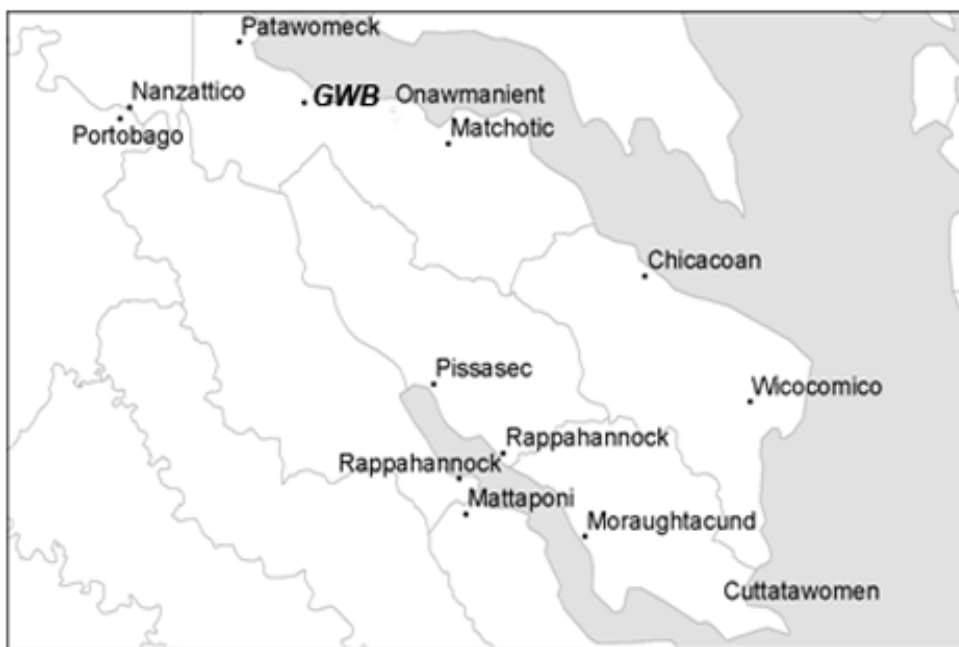
Map 6: Relocation of native groups in the Rappahannock River Valley, 1655-67.
Modern location of GWB indicated with a star. Drawing by Edward Ragan.

identifies the site of Mangomixon, which was to the west of Chinquatuck (Chingoteague or Gingoteague) Creek and just above Nanzattico.

Thomas Lucas, whose tract lay “on the south side of the Rappahannock River about two miles above the Portobago Town” included land “which is now within the bounds. . . allocated to the Nanzattico Indians.” Lucas was authorized to take possession of his patent as soon as the Indians had deserted the land. The Lucas patent is critically important to determining the southern bounds of the Nanzattico Indians’ land, for it lay directly behind the 1650 patent of Sir Thomas Lunsford, which included river frontage and extended one mile inland. Thus, the Nanzatticos’ land on the south side of the Rappahannock River ran inland for at least two miles.

Court documents that can be related to specific patents reveal that Native-owned lands there were soon cleared and planted at a rapid rate and that tenants and/or slaves often were seated on outlying properties to substantiate their owners’ claims. In 1666, John Washington was authorized to take possession of acreage that straddled the boundary line between Old Rappahannock and Westmoreland Counties, which lay just east of Nanzattico. The property he acquired was described as part of the Nanzattico Indians’ land; he was given permission to seat the tract as soon as the Indians deserted it (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:41). Research demonstrates that John Washington’s acreage lay just east of Jetts (Porteus) Creek. In 1666, John Catlett, as guardian of an orphan named Francis Slaughter, also obtained a patent for land “included within the bounds allocated by the Grand Assembly to the Nanzattico Indians.” Catlett, like Washington, was authorized to “have it upon the Indians deserting it” (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:41). The patent for the Catlett/Slaughter property reveals that it bordered Omen or Millbank Creek, to the west of Port Conway, and extended “through part of the Dogges cleare ground” (Old Rappahannock County 1663-1668:397).

In 1670, Katherine Lunsford (daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Lunsford, who had patented land on Portobago Bay in 1650) received permission to seat her property, as long as she did not disturb the Indians living upon the tract, which was part of the Nanzattico Indians’ preserve (McIlwaine 1924:227). One planter and his family reportedly took up residence near Portobago Creek and the Portobago/Nanzattico Indian preserve’s boundary line in ca. 1672. By 1676 an estimated 71 plantations were situated in the upper part of Old Rappahannock County’s Sittenborne Parish (Andrews



Map 7: Native communities on the Northern Neck, 1655-70, indicating the present location of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Map by the author.

1967:160). These plantations further impacted surviving Native communities on the Northern Neck in the third quarter of the seventeenth century (Map 7).

In 1674, Thomas Prosser also received permission to seat Nanzattico land which allegedly had been deserted by the Indians for two years. However, the Nanzatticos later claimed that he had driven them off and that Dr. Lomax (i.e., Dr. John Lomax, great-grandson and heir of Sir Thomas Lunsford, patentee of 3,423 acres at Portobago) had taken the rest (McIlwaine 1924:359,400; McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1659/60-1693:41). In 1674, Sir Henry Chicheley conveyed his land at Nanzattico to Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill, the husband of Katherine Lunsford, who had inherited her late father's land abutting Portobago Bay. Chicheley, in describing the Nanzattico land he was deeding to Wormeley, used as a northwesterly reference point the "Great Indian path to Nansemond Town," indicating that the village was then in existence. Chicheley, as grantor, also noted that the land being sold lay opposite the Portobago Indian Town (McIlwaine 1924:227; Old Rappahannock County 1671-1676:331; 1672-1675:490). In April 1680 Wormeley repatented his 2,000 acres, "formerly Indian inhabitation called Nanzattico," which lay between Porteus (Jetts) and Chingoteague (Gingoteague) Creeks (Nugent 1969-1979, 2:208-209). Two years later, Wormeley acquired from Cuthbert

Potter 2,000 acres (or approximately half) of the 5,275-acre Nansemond-Mangakemoxon Indian Town tract, which lay just upstream from his property at Nanzattico (Old Rappahannock 1682-1688:36-38; 1668-1672:65-66; Nugent 1969-1979, 2:46). Thus, by 1682 Ralph Wormeley owned the 3,423-acre Lunsford tract on Portobago Bay, plus the 2,200 acres at Nanzattico that he had bought from Sir Henry Chicheley and the 2,000 acres he had obtained from Cuthbert Potter. By 1687 he also had acquired 1,500 acres on the south side of the Rappahannock, abutting Peumansend and Cedar Creeks (Nugent 1969-1979, 2:313). Almost all of this acreage was land set aside for the Indians. Yet again, the fiction of “abandonment” brought about in actuality through deliberate English strategy, served as a cover for further appropriation of native lands. By the end of the seventeenth century, through various strategies, English settlers on the Northern Neck had succeeded in taking control of all but a small percentage of Native holdings, even those “protected” by treaty. Those Native people who remained in the region were increasingly subject to encroachments by land-hungry colonists, and to physical harassment, most dramatically illustrated by the events of Bacon’s Rebellion.

Bacon’s Rebellion and John Washington’s Role

Among his other responsibilities, Colonel John Washington served, alongside Isaac Allerton, as Indian commissioner on the Northern Neck in the 1660s, a position that empowered him to declare war. While no hostile incidents on the Northern Neck have been recorded in the early years of Washington’s commission, he was directly involved in the events of Bacon’s Rebellion. In 1675, Thomas Mathew, a wealthy planter, had obtained goods from Maryland’s Doeg Indians, who claimed that he never had paid them. To obtain satisfaction, the Doeg crossed the Potomac River and attempted to steal some of Mathew’s hogs. The war party was intercepted and pursued by some colonists, who attacked and killed some Indians. The survivors reported the affair to their superiors, who sent out a war party that killed Thomas Mathew’s herdsman. Local militia captains George Brent and George Mason and 30 other men crossed into Maryland in pursuit of the Doeg. In the fight that ensued, ten Indians were killed and some Susquehannocks, who were living with the Doeg, were attacked despite identifying themselves as friends. The Maryland authorities sent a protest to Virginia governor William Berkeley, but no efforts were made to make amends. Thereafter, Indian

depredations on outlying Virginia and Maryland settlements increased (Washburn 1972:20-21).

Washington and Allerton, tasked by Governor Berkeley to investigate the incidents, mustered a force of 1000 volunteers, and marched on the Susquehannock fort in Maryland. Five chiefs, who came out of their fort to parley, were killed in cold blood (Washburn 1972:22-23). Soon after, a party of Susquehannocks from Maryland, who were avenging the attack by Washington and his men, swept down upon the homesteads of colonists living at the heads of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, killing 36. One writer reported that whereas on January 24, 1675/76 there had been 71 plantations in the upper parts of Old Rappahannock County's Sittenborne Parish (the westernmost part of the county, which then included Caroline and Stafford Counties), by February 10th (only 2½ weeks later) only 11 plantations remained occupied. During 1676 an estimated 300 colonists living in that vicinity reportedly died at the hands of the Indians (Andrews 1967:106-107). In 1677, when the inhabitants of Virginia's counties were asked to prepare a list of grievances for the King's commissioners who were investigating the causes of Bacon's Rebellion, the citizens of Old Rappahannock County and Sittenborne Parish, in particular, complained that they had sustained the brunt of the recent offensive against the Indians and that Rappahannock had been "a bulwarke and defense to other counties... and thereby [was] reduced to much poverty." They also said that people who lived upon the frontier were "lyable to much mischief by reason of the Indians incursions in which time of war are so frequent that they cannot at once tend their crops of corn and secure their own lives from suddain [*sic*] and surprise assaults." They claimed that the raid upon the Susquehannock Indians had been "the original cause of the many murders committed in the county of Rappahannock" (Wiseman 1676-1677).

Governor Berkeley was outraged that his orders to Washington and Allerton to proceed with caution had been ignored, but maintained the view that the best policy for the colony was one of continued defense against hostile Indians, combined with alliances with "friendly" tribes. Berkeley called for the colony to be encircled with a thick cordon of forts and militia to protect against further Indian attacks, and demanded that the people of Virginia pay for it. Nine forts were built at the heads the colony's principal rivers. On the Rappahannock, near the falls, a fort was constructed under the direction of Lawrence Smith. On the Potomac, a fort was built at Yeocomico (Andrews 1967:108; Hening 1809-1823, 2:326, 448-453). These earthen forts and the others that Berkeley

ordered to be built were held in disrepute by the planters, who considered them ineffectual but costly “mousetraps” that were of no benefit, yet had been constructed at great expense to the public (Wiseman 1676-1677).

Opposition to the plan developed into Bacon’s Rebellion, an event that combined anger at colonial elites with a poisonous hatred of Indians. Bacon, a new arrival in the colony, stirred up local anti-Indian sentiment, and led raids against the Indians allied with the English, including the Pamunkeys. Berkeley’s efforts to control Bacon and his followers led to armed conflict between Bacon and his followers and colonial authorities, including the burning of Jamestown, and the ouster of Berkeley, who retreated to the Eastern Shore. In August 1676 Colonel John Washington was ordered to see that every freeholder and free man signed Nathaniel Bacon’s oath, promising to resist all forces sent from England until Bacon could confer with the king (Washburn 1972:23-24, 74). Later in the year, some of Bacon’s men went to Washington’s plantation and seized corn, provisions, tobacco, and livestock. The rebels also took prisoner several men who were at Washington’s house and established a garrison there. However, before 1000 English troops arrived to put down the rebellion arrived, the fracas was over, Bacon killed, Berkeley reinstated and Jamestown reoccupied. Heralded by some historians as the first instance of colonial rebellion against the English crown, Bacon’s Rebellion can also be seen as an illustration of the deep-seated anti-Indian sentiment that characterized English settlements on the frontier, and the failure of the central government to protect its Native allies. Bacon’s Rebellion thus represented a further crushing blow to the Native people of Virginia.

When order was restored, Berkeley launched an investigation into John Washington’s role in the uprising, but he was exonerated. As a consequence, Washington was compensated for the depredations to his farms at Round Hills and Bridges’ Creek by one of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon’s followers, Stephen Mannering, who was directed to prevent Washington’s overseers from removing food and tobacco from his plantations, and by neighboring landowner Daniel White, who was dispatched to seize Washington’s corn, tobacco, livestock and watercraft (Hatch 1968:14-15; Neville 1976:50, 54).

In another outcome of Bacon’s Rebellion, the Pamunkey and Nansemond signed the Treaty of Middle Plantation in 1677, which ended the fighting and established the tribes as subject of the King but also purportedly guaranteed their rights to reservation

lands. The treaty, negotiated by Sir John Berry Knight and Francis Morison, comprises twenty-one articles and in many ways provides us with the most complete picture of the remnant of the Powhatan Chiefdom during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The treaty states that the Indian *Kings and Queens* acknowledge their dependency upon the English crown and that their lands are “confirmed to them and their posterity, by patent.” It also establishes a three-mile buffer zone around Indian Towns to minimize conflict and encroachment of Indian lands. The treaty provided protection to Indian *Kings and Queens* from arrest without a special warrant from the governor and two members of the Council and requires so-called “foreign” Indians to be escorted by treaty or signatory Indians when on English-owned plantations thereby forcing the treaty Indians to act as mediators between the English and the non-treaty Indians in the region. While this last treaty, negotiated exclusively with Virginia tribes, shores up the authority of local tribal leaders it also limited tribal authority and established the practice of annual payment of tribute or taxes to the state governor for those signatory groups holding tribal lands.¹⁷

In 1679, military complexes were built at four sites, all of which were situated upon the colony’s major rivers. Some were constructed where forts had been built in 1676. In contrast to the forts of 1676, however, these garrisons were to serve as a base from which horsemen could range through the countryside, maintaining a watch over

¹⁷ From the perspective of the contemporary tribes the significance of the Treaty of Middle Plantation cannot be overstated. Firstly, the two reserved tribes, Pamunkey and Mattaponi, continue to honor article XVI, which requires the payment of annual tribute. The Mattaponi and Pamunkey are proud of their “unbroken” compliance with this article and in the modern era present tribute to the sitting governor in the form of game (deer, fowl, or fish) in a public ceremony in Richmond the Wednesday before Thanksgiving. In recent years tribal leaders of other descendant communities having been attending this ceremony, although the tribute is collected solely from the reservation tribes.

Secondly, since the late 1990s the Mattaponi and Pamunkey tribes have sought to halt the plans for the construction of the Cohoke Dam/King William Reservoir Project by citing those articles in the Treaty of Middle Plantation which offer protection of Indian towns with a three-mile buffer against intrusion as well as noting their unbroken annual tribute payment. The latter is the basis of their argument for the validity and standing of the tribes with regard to the treaty and state politics. While initially the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers denied the federal permit based upon environmental impact and tribal opposition to the project, appeals by the Newport News Waterworks have overturned the initial decision. At the present time the treaty articles have not been deemed sufficient to stop the project, although as of May 1, 2009, the permit has been indefinitely suspended.

the frontiers. The fort on the Potomac River was constructed at Mussell Creek, in what became Stafford County. On the Rappahannock, the site upon which a fort had been built in 1676 was developed into a garrison. By 1682, it was serving as a trading post. In 1682, when John Taliaferro and Cadwallader Jones explored the periphery of the piedmont, they “saw an Indian yt made a periauger (?) at the mountain and brought her down to the garrison with skins and venison, where the said Jones commanded.” A highly schematic map that Jones prepared indicates that his house was on the south side of the Rappahannock, at the falls. In 1682 the garrison on the Potomac River was built near Occoquan, not Mussell Creek (Colonial Office 1607-1747; Hening 1809-1823, 2:236-327, 443, 448-453, 498-499; Nugent 1969-1979, 2:60; Jones 1682).

Expansion of the 1677 Treaty

By 1680 several more Native leaders had signed an expanded version of the original treaty. The second treaty agreement, also called the Treaty of Middle Plantation and dated May 29, 1677, contained 22 articles, not 21, its extra article extending treaty coverage to Maryland. The enlarged treaty was endorsed not only by the original signatories of the earlier document, but also by Mastegonoe, the King of the Saponi, and Tachapoake, their chief man; Shurenough, the King of the Manakin; Vnuntsquero, the chief man of the Meherrin, and Horehannah, their next chief man; Pattanochus, who signed as King of the Nanzattico, Nansemond¹⁸ and Portobago; and Peracuta, the King of the Appomattock. It should be noted that although the Appomattock had not been invited to sign the May 29, 1677 peace treaty because of some accusations against them, in 1680 when the treaty was expanded to include several more Native groups, the Appomattock king signed on his people’s behalf (Anonymous 1680:202-203; Hening 1809-1823, 2:275-277; McIlwaine 1925-1945, 1:4). Conspicuously absent were the Rappahannock, Chickahominy, Mattaponi, and Totachus, probably because they were among the groups then united under the Queen of Pamunkey.

In June 1680 Governor Thomas Culpeper arrived in Virginia to succeed Herbert Jeffreys, who died in December 1678. Among Culpeper’s instructions were orders to

¹⁸ The Nansemond mentioned with the Nanzattico and Portobago were a Rappahannock River group and should not be confused with the Nansemond living on the south side of the James River.

deliver the king's gift, including a set of crowns, to the Indian rulers who had signed the Treaty of Middle Plantation ; the ship carrying these crowns was, however, lost at sea (McIlwaine 1925-1945:1:4). The Executive Council persuaded him not to do so, particularly objecting to the crowns, for they felt that jealousy and discord would result if some Tributary Indian leaders were to receive gifts *and others did not*. This indicates that by the time the gifts had been brought to the colony, the treaty had been expanded, for when the original agreement was amended, to include Maryland within its protection, it was signed by twelve Indian leaders rather than five, who represented seven Indian groups, rather than four. Besides, the Council asserted, "such Marks of Dignity as Coronets. . . must not be prostituted to such meane [inconsequential] persons."

Officials even suspected that some Tributary Indians were committing violent acts under the guise of "foreign Indians." Again, passage in and out of the colonized area was regulated, surveillance maintained, and admission denied to outlying, non-Tributary tribes. There were to be in all four forts regulating this traffic. The northernmost of the forts was to be built on the Potomac River near Occoquan. The garrison on the Mattaponi River, known as Fort Mattaponi, was on the upper side of the river, downstream and across from the site at which a fort had been built in 1676. On the Rappahannock was the aforementioned garrison. The fourth fort was to be built on the south side of the James River, above Captain William Byrd's property at the falls. Each of the fortifications was to include a strongly built storehouse (22 feet by 60 feet) and a 10-foot-square magazine. A detailed list of the tools and provisions to be furnished to each garrison was made by the assembly and each county was to supply men and horses. Four neighboring Indians were to be assigned to each garrison as guides. Tributary Indians encountering soldiers ranging in the woods were urged not to flee or make opposition, so that they would not be mistaken for adversaries. Residents of the south side of the James River and the Eastern Shore were given the right of erecting garrisons, if they felt it advisable. This final series of forts was abandoned in November 1682 (Hening 1809-1823, 2:433-434, 439, 449-453).

In 1680, the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation was again expanded and a native leader named Pattanochus signed on behalf of the Portobago, Nanzattico, and Nansemond Indians, groups that for at least a decade had been living in close proximity to each other (Anonymous 1680; Hening 1809-1823, 2:274-275). As the 1680s wore on, the population of Virginia's tributary Indians continued to wane. They not only suffered

from loss of the habitat they vitally needed for subsistence, but they were also subject to aggression from the Senecas, Susquehannocks, and Iroquois who sometimes raided into the colony. In March 1682, Lord Baltimore informed Virginia officials that some northern Indians were preparing to attack “the Nanzattico of the Rappahannock River” (Sainsbury and Fortescue 1964, 11:437). Earlier on, when Secretary Ludwell had accused a Nanzattico warrior of committing a murder while on a trading mission, Virginia officials left it to his discretion to decide whether the accused man, Nehemin, should be extradited to Maryland. Ludwell, usually a harsh critic of Virginia’s Indians, insisted that the Nanzattico had been 70 miles from the scene of the crime and therefore could not have been responsible (Sainsbury and Fortescue 1964, 11:93-94, 184).

During the early 1680s, Seneca attacks upon the tributary tribes increased to the point that the Virginia government intervened. In mid-November 1683, the Seneca reportedly descended upon the Mattaponi Indian town on the Mattaponi River and then laid siege to the Chickahominy or Rappahannock Fort which was nearby. Afterward, the Mattaponi took refuge with the Pamunkey, and the Rappahannock, whom government officials urged to unite with the Nanzattico, were taken to Portobago. Tributary natives sometimes took up residence on the outskirts of colonists’ plantations, where they felt they would be safer (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915, 1659/60-1693:256; McIlwaine 1925-1945, 1:53-54; Sainsbury and Fortescue 1964, 11:141).

In November 1682, the garrisons at the heads of the colony’s four major rivers were discontinued, as “the apprehensions of danger from the insurrections of certain Indian enemies... [had] for the most part removed by peace concluded with those Indians” (Hening 1809-1823, 2:498-499). Reference probably was being made to the expansion of the 1677 treaty to include the Indians who lived along the Rappahannock River (McCartney 1985:67-71). Also, during the 1680s the population of Virginia’s Tributary Indians continued to decline. In 1702, when a census was made, there were only 30 bowmen (“the Portobago or Nanzattico”) on the Rappahannock River and the Wicocomoco were the only people listed for the south Potomac. No longer in evidence were the Rappahannock, Moratticund, Doeg, Totusky or Nansemond Indians (Colonial Office 1607-1747, 2:221-222).

Two years later, historian Robert Beverley reported that “in Richmond [County], Port-Tobago has [a]bout five Bow-men, but wasting,” and “in Northumberland, [the] Wiccomoco has but three men living, which yet keep up their Kingdom and retain their

Fashion” (Beverley 1705:232-233). Beverley failed to mention any Natives that may have been living in Westmoreland County, perhaps because he did not perceive any evidence of organized tribal groups, as other historical records, such as probate inventories and plantation records indicate that Indians surely were present (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1702-1712:75; McIlwaine 1918:391, 403; 1925-1945, 2:269).

Robert Beverley’s list of native peoples surviving in the northeastern reaches of the colony included groups that may have absorbed peoples from the Northern Neck. It is clear that by that time, Indian peoples had developed a number of strategies for survival in an increasingly contentious world: the formation of isolated enclaves, and patterned, and probably seasonal mobility. Rountree quotes from a letter from the then governor of Maryland:

The Eastern Shore Indians remove very often into Virginia and Pennsylvania, so that it is almost impossible to ascertain their numbers. But the Indians of these parts decrease very much, partly owing to smallpox, but the great cause of all is their being so devilishly given to drink
(Rountree 1990:127).

The Destruction of the Nanzattico Trading Post

Although no native communities were located on the lands occupied by George Washington Birthplace National Monument during the period post-dating English settlement there, limited documentation and the archeological investigation of Nanzattico give some idea of the nature of native life in the vicinity during that period. Durand de Dauphine, a French Huguenot who visited the Nanzattico preserve in 1686, wrote, “These savages have rather pretty houses, the walls as well as roofs ornamented with trees.” The Nanzatticos wore both English- and native-style clothing, and the women fashioned pots and smoking pipes from clay. They sold pots and agricultural produce to the English as well.

In September 1704, however, a group of Native men allegedly murdered and mutilated several people who were at the home of English settler John Rowley; one young girl survived to report what had transpired. The Nanzattico Indians, who were known to have had disputes with the Rowleys, were implicated in the crime. Orders were given for the accused Nanzatticos to be captured and transported to Williamsburg to stand trial although the case was ultimately tried at the Richmond County courthouse. Early in October all but one of the accused Nanzattico males were convicted of murder

and sentenced to death. It was also agreed that the remaining members of the Nanzattico tribe should be tried on the basis of a 1663 law that made the residents of the nearest Indian town answerable for any local crime that Indians were accused of committing. The Nanzattico were rounded up and transported to Williamsburg, where they were incarcerated until May 1705. Williamsburg officials ultimately determined that the Nanzattico were guilty by association and that all Nanzatticos over the age of 12 should be transported out of the colony. Children under 12 were to be bound out until the age of 24. Although members of the Governor's Council recommended that elderly Nanzatticos be spared deportation and that women and girls be sent only as far as the Eastern Shore, the House of Burgesses remained adamant. Ultimately, Captain John Martin transported almost all of the Nanzattico to Antigua, where they were sold into slavery. Meanwhile, the tribe's 13 young children were distributed among the members of the Governor's Council, probably also as slaves (Morgan 1984:168-173).

In 1705 Virginia's legal code was summarized and updated to address the colony's changing needs. This group of laws, which affected all non-whites, deprived Indians of the few remaining legal rights they formerly had enjoyed. They also conferred upon blacks the status of personal property and made them slaves for life. Ironically, this occurred at a time when Tributary Indians were making increased use of the colony's legal system instead of settling matters on their own. Under the 1705 legal code, Indians and other non-whites were forbidden to testify in court under any circumstances, a prohibition that prevented them from collecting just debts. Likewise, Indian servants no longer could sue for their freedom if their masters detained them after their contracts expired. Bans against interracial marriage made it illegal for ministers to unite whites and non-whites, thereby discouraging the Natives' assimilation into the white population through marriage. Those who wed despite the law were fined and subject to six months imprisonment. Non-whites were ineligible to hold any public office (whether civil, ecclesiastical, or military) and if they dared to forcibly oppose a white Christian, they could be flogged. Thus the 1705 legislation brought profound erosion of ethnic minorities' civil rights (McIlwaine 1925-1945, 3:275, 286, 359, 365, 369, 371, 380).

A piece of the legislation enacted in October 1705 also cost Tributary Indian tribes a large percentage of their land, if the three-mile buffer zone around their towns protruded across a navigable river. As most Indian towns were on the waterfront, the new law had serious implications. Specifically, the burgesses decided that

... where an Indian town is seated, on or near a navigable river, and the English have already seated and planted within three miles of the said town, on the opposite side of the river, the said clause [of the 1677 treaty] shall not be construed, deemed, or taken, to give the Indian town any privilege on the said opposite side: But in such a case, the privilege of the said Indian town shall be limited by the river (Hening 1809-1823, 3:466).

By the early eighteenth century, relatively peaceful conditions prevailed in the upper reaches of the Rappahannock River. Even so, rangers continued to patrol the frontiers of the colony, and as late as 1711, Indians who ventured into settled areas were obliged to carry badges (McIlwaine 1925-1945, 2:286). When Natives crossed from one colony into another and were suspected of wrongdoing, colonial governments were meant to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators to justice. Sometimes, Maryland and Virginia worked together toward this goal (McIlwaine 1925-1945, 1:342).¹⁹

In 1719, when the last recognized *werowance* of the Wicocomoco died, the Northumberland County court did not appoint a successor. This signaled dissolution of the natives' tribal organization (Potter 1976:62). Steven Potter has concluded that after 1719 the Indians remaining in Northumberland County were servants, slaves, or isolated freemen, who lived lives which on the surface, resembled those of their English neighbors. For example, the 1719 inventory of the estate of the late William Taptico, son of a Wicocomoco *werowance*, included European-style goods, such as feather beds, pillows, and curtains, although there were three "Indian" milk-pans. Another reference was to an enslaved Indian youth named Prince, who had been indicted for burglary, but who was pardoned by Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood (Potter 1976:81-82; 1993:224-225). Oral history interviews in the African American community on the Northern Neck have uncovered family stories concerning Native ancestors, while members of the Rappahannock and Patawomeck tribes also recall hearing of family members living in the region in the nineteenth century. These few references provide tantalizing glimpses of a continued Native presence on the Northern Neck. The

¹⁹ Most of the available maps consist of schematic representations that provide relatively little data concerning Native settlements. Maps prepared during the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, however, were found to be relatively sensitive and to contain much useful information about the region's historic sites, including the locations of former Indian towns.

subsequent fate of the native peoples of the region and their descendants, most of whom had moved to settlements further west, will be discussed again in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER FOUR: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY ON THE NORTHERN NECK

The rough and tumble world of the seventeenth-century American colonies, a time of quick profits and high mortality rates, characterized by hostile encounters with Native people, who fought courageously to protect their societies and territories, and by conflicts with neighboring colonies, provided a context in which English men of action could thrive. As evidenced by his role during Bacon's Rebellion, described in the previous chapter, John Washington I, who arrived in the colony as a co-partner or second man on Edward Prescott's boat, was such a man (Stanard 1930:186). Prior to the time John Washington I left England, he formed a business partnership with Edward Prescott, a mariner.²⁰ Together they sailed through the Baltic Sea, paused in Germany, and then continued on to Denmark. In November 1656 they set out for Virginia. From this adventurous beginning, John Washington was able to establish an American dynasty.

Historians and novelists (e.g., Barth 1960) have been intrigued by the seemingly limitless possibilities, flexible social boundaries, and identity manipulation that characterized social relations in the colony's earliest days. Historical records reveal actors with a wide variety of ties, shifting roles, and personal agendas who came together in a single place, with the intention of maximizing opportunities for trade, and acquiring valuable property. The society that developed on the Northern Neck was heavily influenced by these early entrepreneurs, some of whom founded the families that came to dominate the region for the next several centuries. But the region was also shaped by the rapidly established Chesapeake agrarian economy, to be described in the following section.

²⁰ On April 4, 1661, Edward Prescott patented a ½-acre waterfront lot in urban Jamestown, just west of the church. By late 1661 or early 1662 he had bequeathed it to Sarah Drummond (wife of the rebel William Drummond I) (Patent Book 5:634). This raises the possibility that she was his daughter.

THE CHESAPEAKE PLANTATION ECONOMY

Tobacco cultivation, subsistence-based corn production, open-range livestock practices, and the headright system²¹ were the defining tenets of Chesapeake plantation agriculture, all of which were in place and routine by 1630s (Rutman and Rutman 1984:43). Moving quickly into the insular stage of farms and plantations, but without the nucleated towns, Northern Neck settlement was characterized by “farm building,” putting pressure on Native American settlements, as did English methods of slash and burning fields, erecting fences, and establishing orchards. Ironically, this system was also an adaptive blend of Native American and frontier European agricultural practices (Carr et al. 1991:xvi; Kulikoff 1986:26). Money from tobacco enabled small and large planters to obtain bonded laborers, goods and commercial services, dictating daily and yearly work routines, and land use patterns. The “boom” economy of tobacco cultivation was reflected in the widespread use of temporary, earth fast architecture for houses and barns between 1620 and 1720. Architecture and archeological research also shows increasing spatial separation of labor, and major disparities in wealth between the small number of prominent planters, and the majority of middling and small planters. In the seventeenth century “tobacco shaped how Europeans, Indians, and Africans experienced and viewed the new world” (Breen 1985; Carr et al. 1991:8, McCusker and Menard 1985:119). This system the English brought in mature fashion to the Northern Neck (Gouger 1976:67).

The Northern Neck Proprietary

As discussed in the previous chapter, the land within the Northern Neck of Virginia was part of a proprietary territory that the exiled King Charles II allocated to seven of his loyal supporters in 1649, a grant that he upheld in 1652 when the monarchy was restored. In 1669 Charles II reaffirmed the Northern Neck grant by means of a 21-year lease, but he excluded three of the seven original proprietors. Later, when one of the excluded men’s heirs protested, six of the seven men’s shares were reinstated. John

²¹ The headright system permitted settlers to finance passage to the colonies for others in for grants of land. In the earliest period of settlement in Virginia, settlers received substantial parcels in exchange for each person whose passage was paid.



Map 8: Detail of Augustine Herrman's Map, 1670.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Lord Culpeper, whose interest in the Northern Neck had been restored, eventually purchased the shares of four fellow lessees. In 1688, his heir, Thomas Lord Culpeper, received the final grant to Northern Neck. Through the marriage of Culpeper's daughter and heir in 1690, the Northern Neck proprietary passed to Thomas Lord Fairfax (Gentry 1981:xvi-xvii).

Tracts of land within the Northern Neck proprietary were acquired through purchase warrants that specified the size and location of the acreage for which application was being made. After a survey was performed, a legal land grant was

prepared and issued. The office of the Northern Neck proprietary continued to dispense land until after the American Revolution and the death of Lord Fairfax. The Fairfax family's interest in these Virginia lands, which became the subject of heated controversy after the Revolutionary War, was terminated in 1808, when the last surviving heir sold off his residual interest in the region. Perversely, despite the fact that the Northern Neck was a proprietary territory, its residents fell within the purview of Virginia law (Gentry 1981:xvi-xvii).

The Structure of Local Government

Northumberland County, which was formed in 1645, originally included part of what are now Lancaster, King George, Westmoreland, and Stafford Counties. In 1651, Lancaster County was created from parts of Northumberland and York Counties. By 1653, those portions of Lancaster which had once been in Northumberland became Westmoreland County. In 1666 Westmoreland was subdivided and Stafford County, located on the southern shore of the Rappahannock River, was formed. In 1656 part of Lancaster County was split off to become Old Rappahannock County, a name it bore until 1692 (Virginia State Library 1965:22, 26). At that time Richmond County was subdivided, and King George County was formed. The seats of King George, Lancaster, and Stafford Counties lie in the towns of those names. Richmond County's courthouse is located in Warsaw, on the northern shore of the Rappahannock River, whereas Westmoreland County's seat is in Montross. Northumberland County's court was held at Coan Hall until 1705, at which time it was moved to Heathville (McCartney 1985). With the establishment of these new counties came increased local representation in the colony's government.

The development and maturation of county government systems was also linked to the extension of the court system into each newly formed political jurisdiction. Important county officials, such as justices of the peace, sheriffs, naval officers, and military officials, were appointed by the governor and his council, as were lesser functionaries such as county clerks of court. Members of the House of Burgesses, as elected officials, represented their respective jurisdictions, interacting with the colony's officials, who in turn responded to those in England (McCartney 1985).

The Commonwealth Period

After England's civil war came to an end, a Parliamentary fleet set sail for Virginia to proclaim the supremacy of the Commonwealth government. Oliver Cromwell's agents also were eager to assert their authority over Virginia, a colony known as a royalist stronghold. In April 1652, when the fleet arrived at Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley, its current governor, was obliged to turn over the reins of government. The articles of surrender Berkeley signed acknowledged Virginians' rights as citizens of the Commonwealth of England and stated that Virginia was under the purview of the Commonwealth's laws, which had not been imposed upon the colonists by force. The burgesses were authorized to conduct business as usual, except for enacting legislation contrary to the laws of the Commonwealth. Virginia's charter was to be confirmed by Parliament and its land patents' legality was to be upheld. The colonists, like all English citizens, were entitled to free trade, and no taxes could be imposed upon them without their assembly's consent. All publicly-owned arms and ammunition had to be surrendered. The assembly could conduct business as usual although all new laws had to conform to those of the Commonwealth. The articles of surrender offered many reassurances and the transition in government occurred peacefully. Berkeley and his councilors were obliged to subscribe to the articles of surrender or leave Virginia within a year (Hening 1809-1823, 1:363-368). Virginia officials apparently anticipated that the Commonwealth government would assert its authority, for in advance of the fleet's arrival, they made some preparations to offer armed resistance.

The Commonwealth government in England imposed strict navigation acts that affected overseas trade with the Dutch. In 1651 a group of 47 Dutch merchants filed a petition with their government, noting that they had "traded for upwards of twenty years past to all the Caribbean islands and to Virginia" and that through this commerce, the colony had improved greatly. The merchants claimed that they had been transporting to Virginia "all sorts of domestic manufactures and other articles for the people inhabiting those parts," which they exchanged for tobacco and furs. They indicated that the time limit set for their withdrawal from Virginia trade was unreasonable. Passage of the Navigation Acts eventually led England into the first Anglo-Dutch War, from May 1652 to April 1653 (O'Callaghan 1856:436-437; Wilcoxon 1987:21).

Merchants in London staunchly supported Oliver Cromwell's government and its attempt to wrest from the Dutch their dominance in trade. In 1660, when King

Charles II assumed the throne, London's merchants urged him to derive as much as he could from the colony's tobacco crop. It was then that another navigation act designed to cut off the North American colonies' trade with the Dutch was passed. The act specified that all tobacco produced in the colonies had to be shipped to England or another English colony, using an English or English colonial ship with a predominantly English crew. While this enactment was clearly beneficial to English merchants, the import duties imposed upon the tobacco that entered England were burdensome to colonial planters and siphoned off their profits (Morgan 1975:197-198).

The Early Parishes of the Northern Neck

During the colonial period, when the Church of England comprised the Established Church, parish boundaries usually were coterminous with county boundaries. A significant increase in population usually prompted local residents to ask the House of Burgesses to subdivide their old parish into one or more new ones. Typically, a church was constructed soon after the establishment of a new parish and sometimes, smaller chapels of ease were built in outlying areas for convenience of worship. By 1725 there were two or three parishes in every county within the Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula. Glebe farms, one per parish, provided a home and source of income for parish clergy, supplementing the stipend they received from parish tithes. Vestries, elected within parishes, usually were comprised of the same prominent planters who also held political offices. The strong link between church and state meant that many functions now relegated to government officials were performed by the parish vestry. For example, the boundaries of private property were processioned annually or reaffirmed by vestrymen in consultation with adjacent landowners. Attendance and support of the Established Church was obligatory and the collection of church dues (or church taxes) could be enforced by the county sheriff. Although the passage of the Act of Toleration in the late seventeenth century permitted Quakers and other sects comparative freedom of worship, it did not absolve them from their obligation to support the parishes in which they lived. During this time, Anglican congregations typically included African slaves, some of whom were presented for baptism by their owners. Local parish churches provided welfare support for their communities' indigent and infirm, with funding from parish levies. In time, the number of persons needing public assistance had increased to the point that some parishes set up workhouses for the

poor, or almshouses, where the orphaned, disabled, and indigent could work toward their own support. Even so, many widows and orphans received church-subsidized care in private homes and the public welfare system proved to be extremely burdensome to parish churches (McCartney 1985).

Westmoreland County had originally been divided into two parishes, Appomattox and Cople. Yeocomico Church was built in 1655 in the Chicacoan district in lower Westmoreland County and Appomattox Church was erected in the upper portion of the county. The first Appomattox Church was a log house, on an island at the mouth of Mattox Creek. In 1661, it was succeeded by a second church, built on the mainland near the mouth of the creek. John Washington left a bequest to the Appomattox Church that stated “out of his money in England should come ye ten Commandments & Kings armes.” George Washington was baptized there April 16, 1732.

In May 1664, these parishes became three: Washington replaced Appomattox and Cople split into Westbury (upper) and Cople (lower). In 1704, Nominy (or Nomini) Church was founded in the upper portion. Appomattox Parish was renamed Washington to honor Col. John Washington, one of its vestrymen, and it extended “from upper Mochodick to Mr. Pope’s Cliff’s.” Appomattox became known as the lower church of Washington Parish after Round Hill Church was built in what is now King George County. In 1742, Pope’s Creek Church, “built on high ground back from the river,” succeeded Appomattox as the Lower Church of Washington Parish (cited in Williams 1936:18). St. Peter’s Episcopal Church, built in 1848, replaced the four colonial churches of Appomattox, Round Hill, Bray’s in Leedstown, and Pope’s Creek. [There are no records for Washington Parish in the Library of Virginia.]

Nomini Church and Yeocomico Church of Westmoreland County are both seventeenth-century structures, but both are replacements of much earlier buildings. Others were located at Washington Lower and Upper Glebes, Bray’s Church, and Round Hill Church. The historian of Westmoreland County, Walter Norris, writes:

The Established Church in Westmoreland made a necessary contribution to our early society and culture, but like many an institution ordained by law and supported by taxes, in time the Church became too entrenched and more than a trifle resistant to new ideas.

Norris argues that the early church was intolerant of dissenters, including Quakers and Baptists (1983:141). He suggests that a “profound resentment of the Church

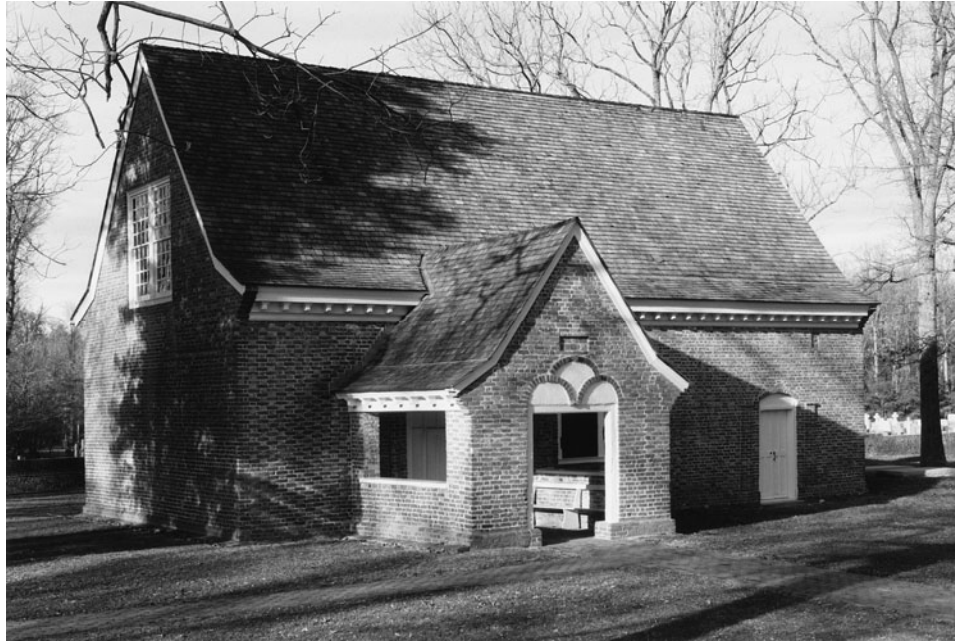


Figure 4: Yeocomico Church, Westmoreland County.
Courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS).

as an agent of state oppression” motivated the disestablishment movement on the Northern Neck, as elsewhere in Virginia, such that, following the Revolution, the older churches, such as Pope’s Creek, Round Hill, Brays, Nomini, and Yeocomico were allowed to fall into disrepair. Norris argues further that as soon as nonattendance ceased to be punishable by fines or jail, residents of the Northern Neck fled to the evangelical faiths (1983:143). As historian Rhys Isaacs has noted, that profound social movement, the establishment of the Baptist faith, associated with the rural non-elite populations of Virginia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was crucial in the subsequent history on the Northern Neck (Isaacs 1983).

Early Industry on the Northern Neck

Among the earliest industries on the Northern Neck were mills, including Isaac Allerton’s mill at Nomini Creek, still in operation today. Place names in Westmoreland County seem to reflect the mixed economy of the region, and the landscape of middling planters, tenants, indentured servants, and slaves. For example, Askins Shop, near Zion Church, is named for a blacksmith’s shop of the eighteenth century. There are many names associated with mills, including Bailey’s Mill, Beale’s Mill, Chandlers Mill Run, Doleman’s Mill Swamp, Double Mill, Flint’s Mill, Newton’s Mill Run, Omohundro Mill

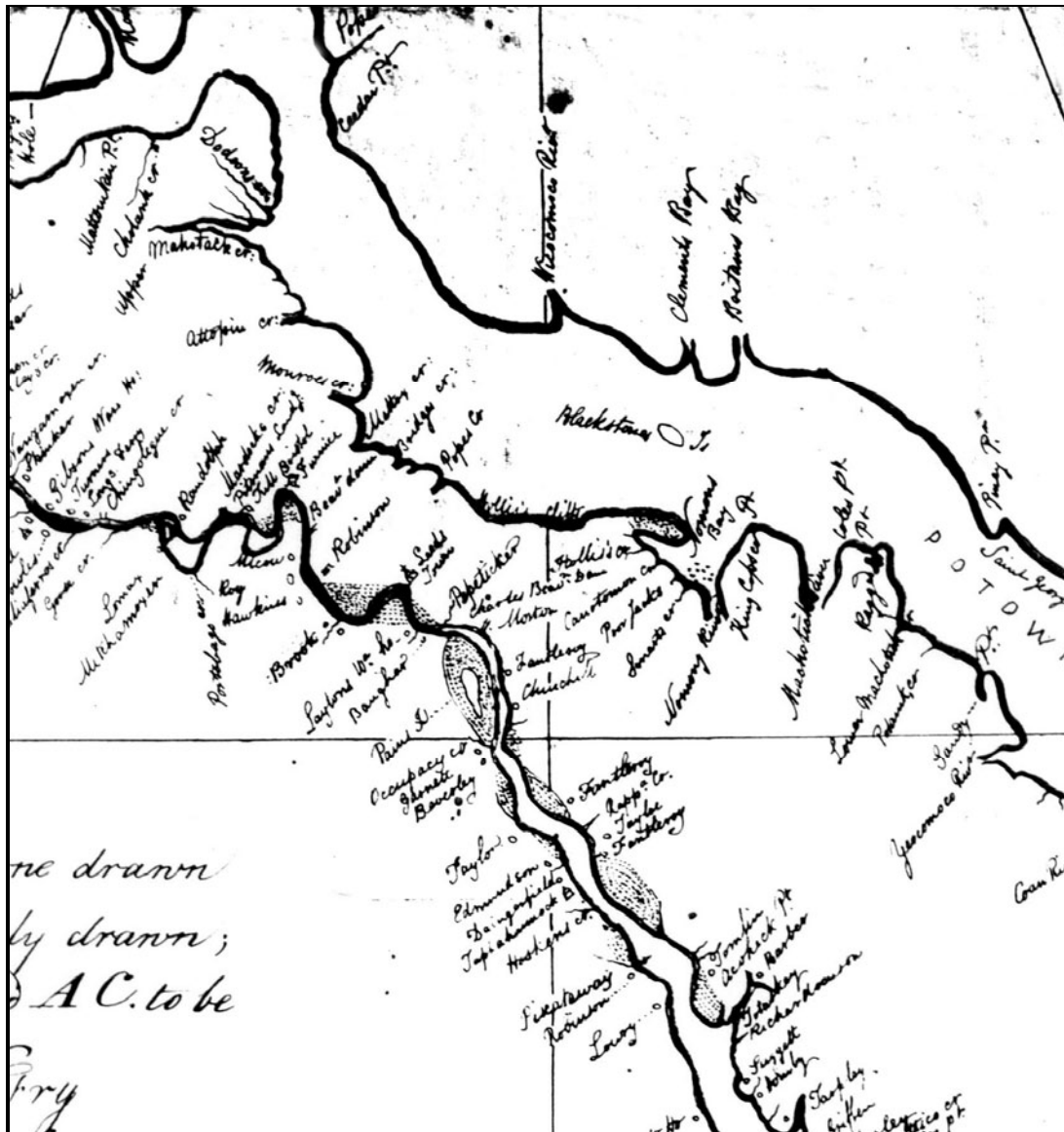
Pond, Potomac Mills, Smoots Mill Run, Stratford Mill, Washington's Mill, White's Mill, and Wirts Mill. Equally important were the wharves and landings in the region, crucial to the river trade that was the lifeblood of the Northern Neck, and the chief transportation route in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.

In addition to tobacco, the colonists sent lumber and wood products back to England and searched for other valuable raw materials. For example, in 1721, Augustine Washington, John King, the factor at Leedstown, and several other local men, in partnership with the Company of Merchants, invested in a grist mill on the north side of the Rappahannock River, eight miles northwest of Southern's Ferry at Foxhall's (Eaton 1942:11). The investors also hoped to ship diatomaceous earth back to England. Although the furnace closed in 1729, archeological investigations at the site in 1942 yielded traces of ash, slag, and evidence of attempts to make glass (Eaton 1942:11). Augustine Washington was part owner of another furnace as well, and traveled to England in 1729 on this business.

Transportation Conduits

During the colonial period, most planters commuted to their destinations by means of navigable streams. In the late seventeenth century, business and commerce, religious and social gatherings, and other forms of communication were dependent upon tidal waterways. Despite the development of overland transportation corridors by the mid-eighteenth century, the Northern Neck's rivers and navigable streams continued to provide the most convenient mode of access until well into the nineteenth century. Contemporary maps reveal that within the Northern Neck, thoroughfares paralleled the major rivers and that ferries, ordinaries, and taverns were located along those roads. Public ferries were in operation at Leedstown in Westmoreland County. Travelers' accounts suggest that making progress overland was difficult and time-consuming. Thus, navigable waterways remained a favored mode of transportation (McCartney 1985). Rivers and streams were richly stocked with fish and shellfish as well. In 1774, for example, Landon Carter wrote,

The [Rappahannock] River and [Carter's] [C]reek have afforded the greatest family blessing in food. We have had fish [and] crabs every day all the summer by the line and now we catch them in our weir and the finest prawn I ever saw. And as the season advances we may have very good oysters for sauces of all kinds
(Green 1875-1886, 2:861).



Map 9: Detail from the Jefferson-Brooke Map of Northern Virginia, ca. 1755.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Roadways on the Northern Neck

By the mid-eighteenth century, the upper part of the Northern Neck was linked to the frontier that lay beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains (Jefferson and Brooke 1736-1746). The Potomac Path, an Indian trail that led along the natural ridge between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, was one of many routes recorded, which allowed travel from Washington's properties in Westmoreland County to the lands at Occoquan and his warehouse at Great Hunting Creek. Small farmers who lived in the hinterlands

typically relied upon less labor-intensive forms of agriculture. Yeoman farmers often needed to travel overland to procure goods and services, whose production was beyond their means, and they needed to reach mills, churches, and the seat of county government. The need for access to urban centers led to the development and improvement of overland transportation corridors (McCartney 1985).

Urban and Commercial Development

The Northern Neck's earliest urban development occurred at Leedstown, which was settled during the mid-seventeenth century. When town-founding legislation was passed in 1680, 1705, and 1715, town sites were established in Lancaster (Queenstown), Westmoreland County (Kinsale), King George County (Marlborough), and Northumberland County (Newcastle). After the Burgesses decreed in 1680 that each maritime county "should purchase fifty acres of land to be laid out with streets," Nominy Point and Kinsale were selected, but only the latter was developed. Kinsale was a busy port that traded directly with Glasgow and the West Indies and was the site of a naval battle in the War of 1812 which resulted in the defeat of the British.

Later, in the eighteenth century, the towns of Falmouth and Port Conway were founded in Stafford County, on the southern shore of the Rappahannock River. Typically, those who bought town lots and developed them within two years were exempt from military service and received tax benefits on trade. Often, they also were immune to prosecution for indebtedness for a limited amount of time. Settlement was clustered around every county courthouse, many of which communities still persist. The Northern Neck has remained largely rural in character, still relying upon its rivers and other navigable waterways for commerce and trade (McCartney 1985). Leedstown, which became part of Westmoreland County after the American Revolution, was described in 1936 by H. Ragland Eubank:

Now a village of only a few houses, the 'town of Leeds' was a thriving port in colonial days. From its wharves the planters shipped their tobacco to England, and here they landed the handsome silverware, furniture and other household articles they imported from the Mother Country (cited in Williams 1936).

The designation of official port towns stimulated commercial development in those areas, giving rise to businesses such as mercantile establishments, tanneries, taverns, blacksmith shops, breweries, tobacco and storage warehouses, and mills. The

opening of overland transportation routes promoted similar development along roadways. Throughout the Northern Neck, gristmills and sawmills were constructed on streams and served local communities. Passage of the 1715 and 1730 Tobacco Acts, designed to regulate the quality and uniformity of the colony's tobacco, precipitated the construction and operation of official tobacco inspection warehouses throughout the Tidewater. Often, such facilities were established at port towns. Sometimes, these local inspection stations caused planned towns to evolve into commercial facilities. The presence of good clays in the Northern Neck led to the production of pottery and tobacco pipes during the late seventeenth century (McCartney 1985).

Census Data

The earliest population figures for Westmoreland County are derived from population counts dating to 1699. However, lists of the number of taxables (adults and slaves) for each of Virginia's counties helps to reconstruct population figures for the decades preceding the first census. In 1658, Westmoreland County was listed as having only 266 taxables, but by 1708, this number had risen to 1439 taxables, larger than the figures from Northumberland and Lancaster Counties and second only to Richmond County, which lay on the north bank of the Rappahannock. By mid-century some large planters in the older areas had little need to buy more slaves because the laborers they inherited were now reproducing at a rate sufficient to supply—and sometimes oversupply—their labor needs. They therefore began to transfer or sell their surplus slaves westward (Morgan and Nicholls 2004:222).

THE TOBACCO ECONOMY'S IMPACT ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the cultivation of tobacco was the driving force behind the Virginia economy and the spread of European settlement. Land use patterns, demographics, and patterns of transatlantic and inter-colonial trade were shaped by dependence upon tobacco as the principal money crop. Overdependence upon a single staple crop served to shape the economic, social and political development of Virginia and near-neighbor Maryland, creating a "boom and bust" cycle with important demographic implications. Colonists settled in a dispersed pattern because of their ongoing need to find new land to plant in tobacco, a crop that depleted the soil of its nutrients (Gilmore et al. 2001:5). Virginia planters quickly learned that the Northern

Neck's soil, particularly along the banks of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, was favorable to the production of sweet-scented tobacco, the most marketable—and therefore, the most valuable—kind. By law, one only needed to construct a dwelling and place an acre under cultivation in order to substantiate a planting grant of 50 acres (McCartney 1985).

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, sizeable tracts of Northern Neck land were cleared to accommodate the mass production of tobacco, increasingly requiring slave labor. Thereafter, the plantation economy that characterized the Northern Neck for the next century and a half became well established throughout the region (Billings et al. 1986:66-68). The 1670 map of Augustine Hermann (1673) reveals that planters were then dispersed along the shoreline of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers and the lesser streams that fed into the region's interior. As Lorena S. Walsh has pointed out, "the acquisition of slaves was no longer an unthinking response to a temporary shortage of free labor; it had become the very foundation of wealth and status of the Chesapeake elite" (Walsh 1997:25).

Most of the men who claimed literally thousands of acres of Virginia land were members of the planter elite who were heavily involved in the colony's commerce and trade and in its political affairs. By the mid-eighteenth century, their plantations were massive and, according to contemporary accounts, resembled small villages. Cattle, poultry, sheep, swine, and other livestock collectively provided meat, dairy products, hides, and wool, whereas field crops such as corn, oats, grains, orchard products, and vineyards yielded commodities that added to the common weal of the region's inhabitants. Gentry families could use their plantation seats as a form of cultural and artistic expression, putting on display their wealth and sophistication. This was done through the use of elaborate architecture, complex landscape design, and the decorative arts. Interspersed with the great plantations were those of lesser size (Billings et al. 1986:55,122).

A THREE-TIERED SOCIETY ON THE NORTHERN NECK

Within the context of the tobacco economy and the infrastructure it engendered, a social system mediated by kinship ties and preexisting social, economic or political associations developed either in Europe or more likely along the James and York Rivers

to the south became crucial to the success of the first permanent English settlers of the Northern Neck (Carr et al. 1991; Horn 1994; Rutman and Rutman 1984). Most early settlers knew of one another, and a large percentage had kinship or affinal (marriage) ties to other families there (Rutman and Rutman 1984:47-50). For example, James Rozier, who patented 1,450 acres at Attopin (later Rozier's) Creek as well as land on Nomini Creek, built his home, "Shellfield," on the site of an old native settlement. In 1651 his widow married Anthony Bridges, the son of Hercules Bridges, who settled on Lower Mattox Creek, in what was to become Westmoreland Count. Marriage ties linked several families with land the Pope's Creek/ Bridges' Creek area, including the Popes, Sissons, Bridges, Wycliffs, and Higdon (see Map 3).

John Washington and His Descendants

The marriages and kinship relations of George Washington's forebears are another example of these complex social ties. John Washington was the son of the Rev. Lawrence Washington and his wife, Amphilis Twigden, and was born in ca. 1631-1632 near Oxford, England, or in Essex. Washington received some formal schooling, perhaps in London.²² John Washington's father, although an heir to Sulgrave Manor (Figure 5), near Banbury in Oxfordshire, England, became enmeshed in the politics of the English Civil War, and died in poverty in 1654/5.

As noted in the previous chapter, John Washington I established ties with Nathaniel Pope upon his arrival on the Northern Neck in 1656 (whether by plan or by accident is unclear) and soon after married Pope's daughter, Anne. Another early settler, Walter Broadhurst, settled in Westmoreland County in 1650, and, when appointed sheriff, built a prison, a courthouse, and a tavern on his own land, the first in the region. Broadhurst became the first Burgess from Northumberland and he married Anne, the daughter of another early settler, Dr. Thomas Gerard. When Ann Broadhurst became a widow for the second time, she took the widowed John Washington as her third husband. Her sister, Frances, would become Washington's third wife, a not uncommon form of frontier sororate (the marriage of one man to two or more sisters, usually sequentially). Washington was her fourth husband, and she would, upon his death, marry for the fifth and final time.

²² The sons of wealthier planters sometimes were sent to England to be educated. As will be seen, this became a tradition in the Washington family.



Figure 5: Sulgrave Manor, Banbury, Oxfordshire.
Courtesy of National Park Service.

Community, Conflict, and Litigation

Prominent Westmoreland County landowners formed a community marked by consensus as well as conflict. Among the most colorful court cases of the seventeenth century on the Northern Neck involve cases of slander brought by one “neighbor” against another. For example, settler Richard Cole brought suit against Thomas Gerard, calling him a “hog thief” and a “base fellow” and accused him of various forms of moral misconduct. A well-known case involving John Washington I and his business partner George Prescott demonstrates both Washington’s business sense, and his willingness to use the courts to serve his own purposes. While the two men successfully disposed of their cargo and took aboard tobacco that they planned to sell in Europe, a February storm led to the sinking of Prescott’s vessel, the *Sea Horse* of London. Although the ship was refloated and repaired, John Washington I decided to remain in Virginia. When he asked Prescott to return the funds he had invested in the voyage, Prescott refused on the grounds that Washington owed him money. Court testimony reveals that the two men exchanged heated words while in the Westmoreland County home of Nathaniel Pope. In spite of the fact that Pope offered to pay Prescott whatever he was owed, Washington

went to the local court and placed a lien upon Prescott's vessel. The disagreement was still viable in September 1659, for John Washington I declined to meet Prescott in court because "I intend to gett my young Sonne (Lawrence) baptized" (Hatch 1968:4-6; Westmoreland County 1653-1659:77).

Other members of the Washington family took legal action against business associates and rivals. In some cases, litigation also involved disputes between residents of the opposite shore of the Potomac. In 1686, Lawrence Washington accused Miles Hurst of stealing his hogs and disposing of them in "merriland" (Hatch 1979: 23). These cases form an interesting counterpoint to other documented patterns of social life in the region. Englishmen on the banks of the Potomac were also said to mingle in "elegant pleasures with rude labors and perilous enterprises." For example, there is a record of a contract between John Lee (son of Col. Richard Lee), Henry Corbin, Isaac Allerton, and Dr. Thomas Gerard, for building a banqueting house at or near their respective lands," for "the furtherance of good neighborliness, and for marking out the boundaries of their land" every four years (Tyler 1907: 31). It was built about 1670 at the junction of the four men's properties in Pickatown's Field.

A Portrait of a Planter Family: The Washingtons of Pope's Creek

Scholars agree that the success of early planters in the Chesapeake was due in part to their kinship ties, and to the early and rapid accumulation of property (e.g., Breen 1985; Carr et al. 1991:8, McCusker and Menard 1985:119). Successful planters also were able to import indentured servants, and later, to purchase slaves. John Washington and his descendants are an example of a successful multi-generational planter family, whose history embodies the processes by which a small number of elite families came to dominate the society and economy of the Northern Neck. As was the case with other successful early settlers, John Washington I acquired land through marriage, purchase, and patents. For example, Washington acquired 700 acres situated upon the east side of Hollowaws (Hollis, Appomattox or Mattox) Creek, near a branch known as the Wading Place through his wife Ann Pope (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:449; Patent Book 5:170; Westmoreland County Deeds, Wills and Patents Book 1:89, 226). Washington also amassed a substantial quantity of acreage through the headright system. Much (but not all) of that property eventually came into the hands of his descendents. Finally, Washington purchased extensive acreage, some of which he gave to his brother

Lawrence, newly arrived from England (Westmoreland County 1653-1671: 89-90, 294; Nugent 1969-1979, 1:448, 2:17, 26; Appendix D).²³

Late in 1664, John Washington I purchased from David Anderson and his wife 150 acres of land that the Andersons had procured from Henry Brooks,²⁴ plus some adjoining acreage the Andersons had acquired from the Brooks estate five years earlier, by means of a court order. Of note is the reference to “all edifices thereunto belonging” (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:252). The property included 320 acres at Oyster Shell Point, on the southeast side of Hollis (Mattox) Creek, which fronted directly upon the Potomac River and was abutted northwest by north upon the stream that became known as Bridges’ Creek, which separated John Washington I’s land from that of Daniel Lisson (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:446; Patent Book 5:161).²⁵ This was the acreage that John I and Ann Pope Washington developed into their permanent home. The plantation also became the site of the family’s ancestral burial ground. A plat Robert Chamberlaine made in 1683 for Original Brown, whose wife, Jane Brooks, had inherited some contiguous property to the east, locates the original Washington plantation (Hatch 1968:42-43; Nugent 1969-1979, 2:16, 22, 60, 70, 72, 87).

John Washington I also made a significant purchase of 600 acres from William Freake. To that parcel he added 1,100 acres, which he acquired on the basis of head rights. The aggregate of 1,700 acres lay between the head branches of Appomattox (Mattox) Creek (a tributary of the Potomac River) and those of Powetridge or Porotridge Creek, a tributary of the Rappahannock River (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:226; Nugent 1969-1979, 2:448) (see Map 2, Chapter One).

Washington made several other shrewd purchases elsewhere on the Northern Neck as well. In 1665, for example, John Washington I purchased half of John Hillier’s 920-acre plantation from Anthony Bridges and his wife, Elizabeth, the widow of John Rozier. The property was located between Upper Machodoc and Rozier (Allopeen)

²³ Numerous documents indicate that the Washingtons typically placed tenants or servants upon their property if they did not occupy it themselves.

²⁴ Henry Brooks patented 1,020 acres prior to 1655 and may have occupied the land as early as 1651. His acreage abutted that of Daniel Lisson (formerly Bridges) and abutted southeast upon the land of Nathaniel Pope. At Brooks’ death, his acreage was divided among his heirs. To the west was the land of Hercules Bridges (Hatch 1968:35-36).

²⁵ In February 1653 Lisson purchased Hercules Bridges’ 200 acres on the Potomac (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:1).

Creeks and abutted the Potomac River. Within a relatively short time John I bought the second half of the Hillier property (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:261-262). John Hillier's patent was close to the Round Hills, a natural landmark near Upper Machodoc Creek's east side. Neighbors in the immediate vicinity of the Hillier property included Francis Gray, George Weading or Weadon, William Court, Anna Bernard, Robert Hutchinson,²⁶ Thomas Speake or Peake, and William Webb. By the close of the century, John Washington I's son, Lawrence, had acquired the Webb property and that of his neighbor, William Rust.²⁷ Through his second marriage to Thomas Speake's widow, John Washington I obtained control of the Speake acreage as well (Nugent 1969-1979, 1:201, 211, 253, 288, 304-305, 360, 432, 449, 475, 487; 2:46; Patent Book 3:70; 5:250, 286; Joyner 1987b:38; Westmoreland County 1691-1699:134).

Upper Machodoc Creek apparently was a focal point of community activity during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for a public ferry and tobacco warehouse were located there on the east side of the creek was Washington Parish's Upper Church, sometimes known as the Round Hill Church. John Washington I also had a gristmill near the head of Rozier Creek. The mill was on a public road and in time became an important local landmark (Nugent 1969-1979, 1: 475; Joyner 1987a:129; Eaton 1942:59).

Like many of his contemporaries, John Washington also took advantage of the displacement of the Northern Neck's native inhabitants. As noted in the previous chapter, the Governor and Council of State authorized John Washington I to take possession of a parcel of "abandoned" land just east of Jetts (Porteus) Creek, known to be a part of the land that had been set aside for the Nanzattico Indians (McIlwaine et al. 1905-1915:1660-1693:41). Washington had knowledge of such "abandoned" property, and was also directly involved in conflicts with the Indians that resulted in their removal, since, as previously noted, during this period John Washington also served as

²⁶ It is uncertain whether this Robert Hutchinson was the same individual who owned property on Jamestown Island and had a leasehold in the Governor's Land.

²⁷ William Rust of Yeocomico, Cople Parish, Westmoreland County, born ca. 1634 in Suffolk County England, arrived in Virginia around 1654. His descendants included Jeremiah Rush, of Upper Machodoc, a signer of the Leedstown resolutions (1766), Harry Lee Rust of Waverly, and his wife Josephine Wheelright Rust, the founder of the Wakefield Association.

Commissioner of Indians on the Northern Neck, and was in the militia during Bacon's Rebellion.

John Washington I's final land transactions were significant to his family's subsequent fortunes. In 1675 he purchased 250 acres on Allopeen (Rozier) Creek, from Lewis Markham. In 1677 he and Nicholas Spencer together patented 5,000 acres on Little Hunting Creek, in what was then Stafford County (Westmoreland County 1653-1671:168; Nugent 1969-1979, 2: 178; Patent Book 6:615). Half of this property later was developed into the Washington plantation known as Mount Vernon.

As a substantial landowner, John Washington I took an active role in public life and in time, he became a person of considerable influence. In 1661 he was elected to the parish vestry. The next year he became a local justice of the peace and a major in the county militia. In 1666 he was elected a burgess. In this capacity he would have made numerous visits to Jamestown. His political and social contacts also enhanced his economic opportunities. He received compensation for the various public offices he held and his friendship with Secretary of the Colony Nicholas Spencer would have provided him with an opportunity to learn when escheat land became available within the Northern Neck (Hatch 1968:10-11; Westmoreland County 1661-1662:16; 1662-1664:32; Cocke 1967:167, 259; Stanard and Stanard 1965:79, 81). In his capacity as lieutenant colonel of the militia, John Washington also had the opportunity to influence intercolonial politics (Nugent 1969-1979, 2:91; Westmoreland County n.d.: 1:252; McIlwaine 1924:225, 278, 347, 444, 446, 517).

John Washington I's family structure was also typical of early planter families in Virginia and elsewhere. Historians have noted that many seventeenth-century settlers were part of "blended" families, as life expectancy was low, and widows and widowers remarried quickly (Rutman and Rutman 1981). For example, after Ann Pope Washington's death in 1669, John Washington I married Anne Gerard, a wealthy widow and the daughter of Dr. Thomas Gerard, who already had outlived two former husbands. She died around 1675 and shortly thereafter Washington wed Anne's sister Frances Gerard, who had outlived three former husbands, one of whom was Thomas Speake (Peake), the owner of some property near Upper Machodoc Creek (Hatch 1968:12-13, 17; Westmoreland County 1665-1677:231-232, 274, 278; Gilmore et al. 2001:80).

John Washington I's will (1677) demonstrates the ways in which ties of kin and friendship joined elite families together, and ensured that land, wealth, and access to

labor remained in the hands of a few. John had made bequests to his church and various family members (including his in-laws, the Popes) and he left a young mare to his nephew and godson, John, brother Lawrence Washington's son. However, the bulk of John Washington's land was divided among his three children. Lawrence, as the eldest son, received three tracts of land (700 acres, 250 acres and 900 acres) plus John I's gristmill "with all appertenances & land belonging to it at the head of Rosiers Creek." It was through this means that Lawrence Washington came into possession of his late father's land on the east side of Upper Machodoc Creek at the Round Hills. Lawrence also received the residue of any money John I had left in England, plus a half-interest in the Little Hunting Creek property. The late John Washington I's son, John II, received five parcels of land (250 acres, 300 acres, 350 acres, 400 acres and 395 acres) including "yt plantation whereon I now live wch I bought of David Anderson" (i.e., the home place on Bridges Creek). Daughter Ann received two pieces of land in Westmoreland County that were 1,200 and 1,400 acres in size, as well as jewelry and furnishings (Hatch 1968:15-16).

Archeological Evidence

Archeology at Pope's Creek reveals substantial evidence for the earliest period of "farm building" on the Northern Neck, and concerning the activities of George Washington's forebears. Site 44WM259, 44WM218, and 44WM272 are sites dating to the period of Henry Brooks' and John Washington's occupations, and some areas reflect longer-term habitation, dating to the beginning of the eighteenth century (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:130). The sites yield a variety of European and English ceramics, as well as locally-made coarse earthenwares, some of which may have been disposed of in trash pits or other subsurface features since disturbed by plowing. The so-called Henry Brooks site included post-supported structure with a brick-lined cellar. Another building at the site was likely an outbuilding.

On the John Washington site, a large, forty-by-twenty-foot post-supported building, dating to the period 1655 to 1664, and thought to have been the dwelling of David Anderson, was located (Gilmore et al. 2001:35). Two outbuildings and a possible smokehouse were also identified. Archeologists have concluded that the remains at these sites and structures elsewhere on the park properties dating to the mid-to-late seventeenth century represent a "frontier" landscape, resembling those from the same period on the York and James rivers (Gilmore et al. 2001:61). Another site on the park

property may have been the house owned and occupied by Lawrence and Lydia Abbingdon, who later built the house purchased by Augustine Washington in 1718. The original Washington house fits a pattern of modest building by the first and second generation of elite planters in the Tidewater, as grand mansions did not become common until the eighteenth century there.

EMERGING ELITES ON THE NORTHERN NECK

By the late seventeenth century, the development and maturation of the colony and its governmental systems coincided with an increase in the stratification of Virginia society as a whole, with the result that those in its upper ranks, socially and economically, were in possession of many important advantages. County officials were appointed by the governor and council, as were lesser functionaries, all of whom derived some income for performing their duties. Members of the House of Burgesses, though elected, were drawn from the upper ranks of society, further enhancing their own influence. Family, political and social connections among the colony's leaders served to perpetuate their role in the governmental establishment and extended into the affairs of the church, to which official interest also was linked. Often, the same men who functioned as burgesses or county officials (such as justices, naval officers or sheriffs) also served as parish vestrymen. Plantation seats were established along the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, which early on became conduits of shipping and trade. These plantations became the manorial estates of some of Virginia's most prominent leading families, such as the Lees of Stratford Hall and the Carters of Corotoman. As members of an elite they interacted socially as well as in business transactions and in discharging their governmental duties. At the same time, Virginians at the lower end of the socio-economic scale, such as enslaved African Americans and landless freedmen, had little opportunity for personal advancement (Billings et al. 1986:55,122).

The biographies of Lawrence Washington and his son Augustine Washington illustrate several aspects of this process. They reveal the complexities of life in the seventeenth century, due especially to high mortality rates, multiple marriages, and complex inheritance arrangements. Nevertheless, elite families of Westmoreland County and elsewhere made successful use of the courts, and relied on a widespread network of

friends, business associates, and kin to preserve their estates and to provide a secure legacy to their children. Those families who took greatest advantage of those networks were those who prospered in the eighteenth century as well.

Public and Private Life

In January, 1683 the commissioners of the Westmoreland County court issued orders for the distribution of the late John Washington I's estate. By that time, Lawrence and his siblings were old enough to take custody of their inheritance and sister Ann had married Francis Wright (Westmoreland County 1676-1689:102, 216; Hatch 1968:18). Even before Lawrence Washington attained his majority, he began playing an active role in public life. **During** the summer of 1679 he saw military service, for he was among those sent to the fort that was built near the mouth of Occoquan Creek. Sometime after February 1684 he was designated a militia captain, which rank he retained for 15 years. In June 1680, when he was only 21, Lawrence began serving as one of Westmoreland County's justices of the peace, an office he held throughout the remainder of his life. He was literate and frequently functioned as an attorney.²⁸ While a county justice, Lawrence also served as high sheriff. Lawrence Washington served as Westmoreland County's coroner in 1691 and again in 1697 he was ordered to have a ducking stool constructed at his mill dam in Washington Parish (Westmoreland County 1676-1689:165-166, 183, 314, 404, 412, 477; 1690-1698:6, 23, 44, 62-63, 66, 68, 95, 105, 129, 157, 185, 242).

Although Lawrence Washington, as an attorney, made frequent appearances before his fellow Westmoreland County justices, where he presented cases on behalf of various litigants, he also sought justice on his own behalf. In November, 1697, for example, he obtained a judgment against Mary Brindle, one of his indentured servants, who had had a bastard child approximately two years earlier. The court ordered Mary to serve Lawrence Washington two years "after her tyme of Service" to make up for the "loss & trouble" he had sustained as a result of her conduct. In 1697 Lawrence also went to court because Rodger Holougho, a man servant he had obtained from the ship *Olive Tree* of Briddleford and sold to William Cohoven, claimed to have lost his contract. The

²⁸ Occasionally he was sued. George Harwick, from whom Lawrence regularly obtained "meat, drink & lodging" and pasturage for his horse while attending court sessions, sued to recover what he was owed and contended that Lawrence had little regard for the premises he was renting (Westmoreland County Order Book 1690-1698:185). Despite Harwick's allegations, the suit against Lawrence Washington was dismissed.

local court ordered Rodger to serve six years from the date of his arrival in Virginia. On July 9, 1691, Lawrence brought before the court “a certain Negro (his slave) named Ffee” to have his age adjudged; he was estimated to be 7 years old.²⁹ A few years later, he had “Dick, a negro boy” adjudged for age, and at the same time, he had John Parsons, a 16-year-old servant, hauled before the court, where he was ordered to continue serving Lawrence Washington “according to Law” (Westmoreland County 1676-1689:302, 468, 476, 594; 1690-1698:31, 38, 156, 182, 221, 243, 251).

In 1684, at age 25, Lawrence Washington became a Westmoreland County burgess, attending sessions at Jamestown. He served again in the sessions of 1691-92. During the 1680s and 90s, the need to attend assembly meetings occasionally interfered with his ability to function as a local court justice. His one respite from service came in May 1686, when he asked to defer taking his oath as a county justice, for he was planning “to Ship himself for England” (Hatch 1968:18-19; Westmoreland County 1676-1689:502, 578).

When he was in his late 20s, Lawrence Washington married Mildred, the daughter of burgess and councilor Augustine Warner of Gloucester County. The couple produced three surviving children: John (born around 1690), Augustine (born in ca. 1694) and Mildred (born ca. 1697) (Hatch 1968:19-20). Lawrence’s will reveals that he and his household resided upon the east side of Upper Machodoc Creek’s mouth near the Round Hills, probably on part of the acreage his late father, John Washington I, purchased from John Hillier (see below).

Unlike his late father, Lawrence Washington appears to have made very few land acquisitions. In May 1696 he acquired the late Daniel Lisson’s 400 acre tract on the west side of Bridges’ Creek, directly across from the plantation upon which his own father had lived. Lawrence’s will, made approximately two weeks before his death on March 30, 1698, reveals that he also purchased a parcel from William Webb (who owned land near the Round Hills on the east side of Upper Machodoc Creek) and William Rust (or Rush) whose acreage was in the same vicinity (Westmoreland County 1691-1699:54-59, 133-135; 1690-1698:15, 79, 171-172).

²⁹ In 1712, when the late Lawrence Washington’s estate was apportioned for distribution to his heirs, Ffee was one of the slaves listed.

Lawrence Washington's Demise

Like the other male members of his family, Lawrence Washington was short-lived, for he died in 1698 at the age of 38.³⁰ He apparently was taken ill suddenly, for on March 11, 1698, he made his will, which was presented for probate on March 30. The opening paragraphs of that document suggest that he was deeply religious and committed to the Anglican faith. He bequeathed a pulpit cloth and cushion to the upper and lower churches of Washington Parish,³¹ and indicated that after “a Funeral Sermon at the Church,” he wanted to be buried with his parents, siblings, and children in the family cemetery at his late father’s home place on Bridges Creek (Westmoreland County 1691-1699:133-135).

When Lawrence Washington died, he left behind a widow (the former Mildred Warner) and three children: John (then age 8), Augustine (age 4), and Mildred (an infant). Lawrence divided his real estate among his three children, although he gave wife Mildred life-rights in the property he bequeathed to his eldest son, John. Young John was to receive “this seat of land where I now live and that whole tract of land lying from the mouth of Machodoc, extending to a place called the round hills, with the addition I have thereunto made of William Webb and William Rush.” He also inherited his late father’s mill and 200 acres near Storkes Quarter, a parcel located on the east side of Upper Machodoc Creek. Son Augustine (who became the father of George Washington) was given the 400-acre Lisson tract that Lawrence had acquired in 1696, which lay “between my Brother [John II] & Mr. Baldridges” on the Potomac River, plus some land that formerly belonged to Mr. Richard Hill and a 700-acre tract where Lewis Markham then lived. Daughter Mildred was to receive “all my land in Stafford County lying upon Hunting Creek, where Mrs. Elizabeth Minton and Mrs. Williams now live.” This was the plantation Lawrence Washington’s descendants called Mount Vernon (Westmoreland County 1691-1699:133-135).

³⁰ Hatch noted that Lawrence’s brother, John II, died at age 35, their father (John I) at age 46, their grandfather (the Rev. Lawrence), at 51 (Hatch 1968:24).

³¹ The Upper Church of Washington Parish was on the east side of Upper Machodoc’s mouth, at “the Round Hills.” The Lower Church was on the east side of the mouth of Mattox (Appomattox) Creek (Eaton 1942:59, 63).

Lawrence Washington's Legacy

In 1700, Mildred Warner Washington married George Gale of Whitehaven in Cumberland, England, who also had business interests in Virginia and Maryland. The newly-married Gales took the Washington children and moved to Westmoreland, England, where Mildred died in 1701. This left the youngsters in the custody of their stepfather, George Gale. In April 1702 John Washington II and Samuel Thompson, as the surviving executors of Lawrence Washington, filed a suit in which they contended that custody of the decedent's children and estate reverted to them after the death of Mildred Warner Washington Gale. The court justices apparently agreed, for on April 6, 1704, executor and cousin John Washington went to court where he acknowledged that he had "received of George Gale the Children of Capt. Lawrence Washington. . . and all the Estates and portions belonging to the children" (Westmoreland County 1701-1707:369).

In 1712, when the late Lawrence Washington's eldest son, John, attained his majority, he sought to gain possession of the real and personal property that he stood to inherit. He also petitioned the justices of the Westmoreland County court for permission to become guardian of his younger brother, Augustine, and his sister, Mildred. Permission was granted and in November 1712 four men were appointed to divide the late Lawrence Washington's personal estate into four portions of comparable value (Westmoreland County 1705-1721:198-199, 212). Thus, although Lawrence Washington died long before his famous grandson's birth, his careful stewardship of the land he had inherited from his father and that which he had acquired in his own right provided his descendants with a substantial legacy.

Economic Progress

Sometime between 1715 and 1716, Augustine Washington Sr., who had just attained his majority, married Jane Butler, an orphan. She brought to the marriage six slaves from her father's estate and one from her mother's. In 1717 he added to the acreage he had inherited between Pope's and Bridges' Creeks. Within five years he had built a personal residence upon the enlarged tract. Although he was relatively young, he took an active role in public life. In 1726 Augustine Washington purchased the Little Hunting Creek property from his sister, Mildred, who had inherited it from their father. Augustine also acquired land at Chotank, on the Potomac River (Hatch 1968:79; Gilmore et al. 2001:82).

During the early 1720s Augustine Washington also began taking an interest in ore-bearing lands and iron-making. He claimed land on Accokeek Creek that was discovered to contain rich deposits of iron ore. During the winter of 1724-25 John England, an American partner in the British-owned Principio Company and an experienced iron-maker, began negotiations with Augustine Washington for access to a rich iron mine on his Accokeek Creek acreage. Washington also leased 1,600 acres on Accokeek Creek to England for a period of 1,000 years, in exchange for a one-sixth interest in the produce of the furnace. England was to build the furnace at his own expense and to bear all costs through its first blast. Washington, in turn, was to bear one-sixth of the ironworks' maintenance costs, as long as they did not exceed £20 a year. He also was entitled to a one-sixth interest in any iron manufacturing enterprises that John England might undertake in Great Britain or elsewhere in Virginia. In 1729 Washington made a trip to England, to negotiate directly with the Principio Company's owners. Sadly, just as Augustine Washington's business interests were beginning to pay off, his wife, Jane, died, leaving him with three young children: Lawrence, Augustine, and Jane (Hatch 1968).

A Second Family

On March 6, 1731, a little less than a year after Jane Butler Washington died, Augustine married Mary Ball, the 23-year-old orphan of the late Joseph Ball and the granddaughter of William Ball, who had come to Virginia around 1649 and become a wealthy and successful planter. Joseph Ball, who already had grown children by his first wife, married a widow named Mary Johnson in 1707, with whom he produced a daughter, Mary, born in 1708-09. Joseph Ball, prior to his marriage to Mary Johnson, had distributed much of his property to his older children. He died in 1712, having bequeathed to his youngest daughter Mary, 400 acres near the falls of the Rappahannock River. Mary Ball Washington's half-brother, John Johnson, left her a piece of Stafford County land that he had inherited from Joseph Ball and she also received virtually all of her mother's estate. A number of slaves also came to Mary as part of her inheritance (Freeman 1948, 1: 41-46).

Augustine Washington and his bride, Mary Ball, took up residence at Pope's Creek immediately after their marriage in 1731. Mary's stepsons, who were only 10 or 11 years younger than she, were then living abroad and attending their father's old alma

mater, Appleby School. Augustine Washington's 9-year-old stepdaughter, Mary Johnson, lived in the Washington's Pope's Creek home. Within a year of her marriage, Mary Ball Washington gave birth to her eldest son, George. This was followed within a relatively short time by the birth of a daughter, whom Mary and Augustine named Betty (Elizabeth). Samuel, another son, arrived in November 1734. In January 1735 Augustine Washington's eldest daughter, Jane, died. Shortly thereafter, he set about moving his family to the tract he owned on Little Hunting Creek, land that was known as Epsewasson, which was then in Prince William County. It was while the couple was living there that another son, John Augustine, was born (Freeman 1948, 1:46-54).

The death of Augustine Washington's business partner, John England, in 1735 forced Washington to take a more active role in managing the Accokeek Ironworks. During the winter of 1736-37 he set sail for England, where he negotiated a new agreement with the Principio Company's owners and he visited with his sons, Lawrence and Augustine, at school. He returned to Virginia during the summer of 1737 and once again became actively involved in running his ironworks. It was likely that the lengthy commute to the Accokeek Furnace, which was 30 miles from Epsewasson, led Augustine Washington to uproot his family once again. By then, another baby boy, Charles, had been born (Freeman 1948, 1:55-56).

The Move to Ferry Farm

On November 2, 1738, Augustine Washington, then a resident of Prince William County, purchased a 280-acre farm and its relatively new domestic complex from the estate of William Strother, who had instructed his executors to sell his land. Washington's newly acquired plantation was located in what was then King George County (King George County 1735-1744:220-224). It was convenient to Fredericksburg and Falmouth and closer to his business interests on Accokeek Creek. Those attributes and the availability of schools in Fredericksburg and Falmouth undoubtedly made the property appealing.³² By December 1, 1738, the Washingtons had moved to their

³² During the eighteenth century, some Anglican clergymen offered tutorial services to the children of parishioners or operated small schools. An example of such educational institutions was the school operated by the Rev. Archibald Campbell in Westmoreland County, where both James Monroe and John Marshall attended classes. Private tutors, usually from Europe, lived in the households of some planter families and provided an education to a very limited number of pupils (McCartney 1985).

recently purchased plantation. Almost immediately, Augustine Washington began acquiring additional land, this time some contiguous property (King George County 1735-1744:272).

Relatively little is known about the lives of the Washingtons after they took up residence at Ferry Farm. A baby girl, Mildred, was born on June 21, 1739, but died when she was only 16 months old. Meanwhile, Lawrence Washington was named captain of a militia company and shortly thereafter, set out for the Caribbean in an expedition led by Admiral Edward Vernon. Prior to Lawrence's departure, he transferred some of his land to his father, from whom he secured a promise that the plantation at Epsewasson was to be his upon his return. In March, 1741 Lawrence Washington was among the men sent to Cartagena, where the British sustained a major military defeat. Many of the men who were part of the Cartagena expedition succumbed to yellow fever, and of the original 3,000 colonial troops who were involved, fewer than half survived. Among the veterans who returned home was Lawrence Washington (Freeman 1948, 1:64, 67-68).

Augustine Washington's Decline

In 1743, only five years after Augustine Washington purchased the Ferry Farm, he became seriously ill. On April 11, 1743, when he prepared his will, he stated that he was "sick and weak but of perfect and disposing sence [*sic*] and memory." He distributed his real and personal property among the children of his first and second marriages, stipulating that his widow, Mary, was to retain control of the land set aside for their sons until they came of age. He left to his son, Lawrence, his 2,500 acre plantation on Little Hunting Creek in Prince William (later Fairfax) County, along with its grist mill, slaves, livestock and household furnishings. He also left Lawrence a tract purchased from James Hore and his (the testator's) "right, title and interest" in the Accokeek Ironworks. Lawrence, in exchange, was to purchase three young slaves for his brother, Augustine Jr. (who bore the soubriquet "Austin"), out of the profits of the ironworks, and to pay his half-sister, Betty, 400 pounds. Augustine Washington bequeathed to son Augustine Jr. all of his land between Bridges' and Pope's Creeks in Westmoreland County except for certain acreage he had otherwise reserved. He also left him 25 cattle, 40 hogs, 20 sheep, and a slave named Frank, who was to supplement the slaves Augustine Jr. had inherited from his mother, Jane Butler Washington (King George County 1752-1780:156-161).

Augustine Washington Jr. had returned to Virginia in June 1742 and, at age 23, was old enough to take full responsibility for the land he had inherited (Freeman 1969:7).

Augustine Washington also set aside land for the sons of his second marriage. He left to George, his eldest son by Mary Ball Washington, the land the family then occupied at Ferry Farm, plus three lots in the town of Fredericksburg. George also stood to receive 10 slaves and half of the testator's acreage on Deep Run. Son Samuel received the other half of Augustine's acreage on Deep Run, plus an estimated 600 acres at Chotank, in Stafford County. Augustine bequeathed to his son, John, approximately 700 acres at the head of Mattox Creek in Westmoreland County, whereas son Charles received the land that Augustine had purchased from his eldest son, Lawrence, plus 700 acres in Prince William County that he had bought from Gabriel Adams. Augustine Washington left to his wife, Mary, "the crops made at Bridges Creek, Chotank, and Rappahannock Quarters at the time of my decease for the support of herself and her children." He also gave her the privilege of working his land at Bridges' Creek Quarter for the first five years after his decease, during which time she was authorized to construct a quarter on his Deep Run property.

Augustine Washington stipulated that all of his slaves, with the exception of those who had been specifically devised, were to be divided among his wife and the couple's four youngest sons. However he noted that he wanted his wife to have certain slaves, notably, Ned, Jack, Bob, Sue, and Lucy, who lived at Ferry Farm. He stated that if Mary were to "insist notwithstanding on her Right of Dower in my Negroes," those extra slaves were to be drawn from the ones who had been set aside for his four younger sons, her children. Augustine left to his daughter, Betty, two young slave girls. He indicated that he wanted all of his personal estate divided equally among his wife and their four sons, but the sons' estates were to be kept "in my wife's hands" until they attained their majority. Were Mary Ball Washington to remarry, her new husband was to pose security, guaranteeing that the terms of Augustine's will would be fulfilled. Augustine Washington closed his will by reiterating his "true intent and meaning. . . that each of my children by my present wife may have their lands in fee simple upon the contingency of their arriving at full age or leaving heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten." He added that if his land at Chotank were confiscated by law, he intended for his son, Samuel, to have the 700 acres he owned in Westmoreland County (King George County 1752-1780:156-161).

Augustine Washington died at age 49, a short time after making his will. He was buried at

the family's property at Pope's Creek. On May 6, 1743, Augustine's will was presented to the justices of King George County. By that date, his son, Lawrence, had become permanently settled on his tract at Little Hunting Creek (Freeman 1948, 1:73).

In July, 1743, when an inventory of Augustine Washington's personal estate was presented to the county court, his appraisers made note of items located in specific rooms of the family home. Some of the items in Washington's inventory give testimony to his affluence. There was a substantial quantity of silver plate, gilt china, glassware, and specialized food service vessels. There was also a quarter associated with Ferry Farm, home to seven slaves. A few of the slaves associated with the Ferry Farm home tract had belonged to the plantation's former owner, Augustine Washington, who was absorbed in running his ironworks and attending to his other business interests, and may have elected to lease his outlying real estate to tenants or place overseers on the property. The contents of the storehouse on the Ferry Farm tract suggest that the decedent had been involved in a small-scale retail business. The late Augustine Washington's personal estate in King George County was valued at £824.8.3 (King George County 1721-1744:285-291). Also entered into the records of King George County were inventories of the late Augustine Washington's personal property in Westmoreland and Stafford Counties. On his Westmoreland holdings were 12 slaves (Fortune, Frank, Long Joe, Tom Merry, Kate, Beck, Prince, Charles, Pegg, Will, Kate, and June) and a substantial quantity of livestock, including cattle, oxen, horses, sheep, hogs, and poultry. Thus, Washington's real estate in Westmoreland apparently was in the hands of one or more tenants or an overseer. His personal estate there was valued at £409.10.8. Washington had substantial numbers of slaves and livestock on his Stafford County acreage, suggesting a similar situation (King George County 1721-1744:285-291).³³

Upon inheriting the ancestral home between Bridges' and Pope's Creeks in 1743, Augustine Washington Jr. made it a personal residence. He married Anne Aylett, the daughter of Colonel William Aylett of Westmoreland County, a wealthy planter and burgess. Augustine Jr. later attained prominence in his own right. He became a county

³³ For further information on Lawrence Washington and Augustine Washington, see the following: Hatch 1968:17-77; "Lawrence Washington of Mount Vernon," in the Annual Report of the Ladies' Association of the Union, *The Association* 1936:32-37; and the George Washington Birthplace National Monument website (www.nps.gov/gewa). Copies of biographies formerly on the website appear in Appendix E.

justice, and in 1749 was named a Major. He served as a burgess in 1754, 1755, and 1756 (Hatch 1968:92).

Although relatively little is certain about how Augustine Washington Jr. used his land, he is known to have grown tobacco. Unlike his father, he did little to enhance the size of his landholdings, but he did lease some of this property to tenants and held several leaseholds himself. He retained use of the Pope's Creek mill and saw that it was kept in good repair. He went abroad in the autumn of 1758 and prepared a will on the eve of his departure. However, he returned safely and his will was not proved until 1762 (Westmoreland County 1761-1768:126; Hatch 1968:93).

Augustine Washington Jr. made provisions for his wife, Anne, and left 10 slaves to his daughters, Betty, Nancy, and Jane. He bequeathed the Pope's Creek plantation to his 5-year-old son, William Augustine Washington, when he came of age or married. Besides the plantation, William Augustine Washington was to inherit livestock (horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs), household furniture, investments, and slaves (Westmoreland County 1761-1768:126).

An inventory of Augustine Washington Jr.'s estate, dated November 30, 1762, sheds a great deal of light upon his possessions and style of living, and provides some insight into his farming operations. In Augustine Washington Jr.'s possession at the time of his death were 77 slaves and four indentured servants. The slaves included 34 men, 21 women, 4 boys, 9 girls, 1 lad, and 7 children. Nan, a mulatto, whose "title [was] disputable," was to be freed at age 31. Betty (a child) and Pat also were to be freed at 31. The values assigned to slaves were based upon their age and physical condition. Augustine Washington Jr. also owned 49 horses and 184 cattle, including 9 oxen. There were 229 swine and 99 sheep in his flock. A wide variety of agricultural equipment and tools were on hand in 1762. Besides the usual ploughs, spades, rakes, scythes, and pitch forks, there also were carts and wood-cutting tools. Equipment for fishing, coopering, and carpentry also were present. At least four slaves had special skills: Lawrence, Luci, and Dick were carpenters, and Frank was a miller. Specialized equipment for shoemaking, spinning and weaving, tallow for candles, and the processing of meat and dairy products were present (Hatch 1968:70-76; Westmoreland County 1756-1767:178).

The widowed Anne Aylett Washington survived until 1774. At her husband's death she rejected the provisions in his will and opted to receive her dower share of his estate. This included life-rights in the Pope's Creek plantation. After Anne's death, her

personal estate was sold. Records show it was worth £2,523 and 11 shillings (Hatch 1968:99-100).

Thus William Augustine Washington, at age 17, became the owner of the Washington family seat on Pope's Creek. He married a cousin, Jane, and settled on the property. As time went on, he took an active role in public life, serving as a county justice, high sheriff and militia colonel. He also increased the quantity of real estate he controlled and the value of his personal property (which included livestock and slaves) grew significantly. According to John E. Wilson, who later owned the Washington acreage, at Christmastime 1779 a devastating fire destroyed the residence traditionally occupied by the Washingtons. Sarah Tayloe Washington recalled that Colonel William Augustine Washington's daughter, Washington and some of his neighbors went for a ride. When they returned around midday, Washington discovered that the roof of his house was ablaze. The fire was extinguished and the dwelling's contents mostly were saved and removed to nearby Smiths Hill, Daniel McCarty's home, for safekeeping. Another family member's account of the fire indicates that it occurred on Christmas Day 1780 (Hatch 1968:100-101). Tradition also states that materials from the burnt structure were incorporated into the newly-constructed Blenheim. Meanwhile, the family lived temporarily at Haywood (a tenant house) nearby.

Archeological Evidence for Eighteenth-Century Washington Residences

There are no contemporary descriptions of the Washington home, but an elderly neighbor, interviewed in 1835, recalled that the house was "a low pitched, single-storied, frame building, with four rooms on the first floor, and an enormous chimney at each end on the outside" (Paulding 1835, 1:18-19).

An account of the distribution of Lawrence Washington's estate, filed with the Westmoreland County court on April 2, 1713, sheds a great deal of light upon his household's material culture and wealth. It reveals that the family home was amply furnished and that the Washingtons enjoyed a relatively high standard of living that included specialized equipment for the preparation and serving of food, a substantial quantity of plate, brass accoutrements, and window treatments. The presence of 44 books, a writing desk and a quire of paper attests to the decedent's literacy, whereas his ownership of a shaving knife suggests that he may have been clean-shaven. The Washington household included 27 African or African American slaves, with a slight

preponderance of females, and they ranged in age from very old to the very young. At least three people may have been newly arrived from Africa, for their names were Congoe, Sambo, and Occory. Lawrence Washington's estate was credited with a large herd of livestock that included cattle, sheep and hogs. Substantial quantities of tobacco and corn apparently were raised upon the Washingtons' property. It is likely that one or more of the family's slaves or servants had specialized skills, for several implements for woodworking were on hand. Also included in Lawrence Washington's belongings was a pair of handcuffs (Westmoreland County 1712-1716:135-137; Gilmore et al. 2001:82).

Excavations of the house occupied by Augustine Washington sometime around 1722, suggest a simple structure, one subsequent generations may have judged to be insufficiently representative of the Washington family's wealth and status, although many families of similar rank lived in modest homes in the earliest decades of the eighteenth century (Gilmore et al. 2001:24). It was left to Augustine Washington Jr., who inherited the Pope's Creek property from his father, who had since moved to Little Hunting Creek, to add to the older family home, sometime between 1743 and 1764. Augustine Jr. added several fireplaces and two wings to the house, in an attempt to achieve the symmetrical, Georgian-inspired design fashionable in Virginia at mid-century. A number of scholars have documented the ways in which Georgian architecture reflected and maintained social differentiation, and the Washington dwelling, although the result of a series of modifications over more than forty years, drew on a similar set of symbols and principles. The Pope's Creek house, its outbuildings, and other features together created an impression of wealth and power, marking the elite status of the Washingtons for all to see. Wealthy planters such as the Washingtons also took steps to separate themselves spatially from those whose work made their prosperity possible.

NEIGHBORS OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY: THE MUSES

Among the most long-standing of landholders in the Pope's Creek area were members of the Muse family, whose descendants still occupy land adjoining GWB today. The first John Muse was born in England in 1633, and patented land in Westmoreland County. The same property was deeded to his son John in 1703. John Muse I died in 1723, leaving his two surviving sons and three daughters small legacies, and the bulk of

his property in Westmoreland County to Ann, the widow of his son John, with whom he had been living.

John Muse II (ca. 1673-1722) was a considerable landowner in Westmoreland County, claiming not only the property deeded to him by his father, but also some acreage co-owned with his brother Thomas Muse. He leased another 200 acres there from Colonel William Fitzhugh. John Muse and his wife Ann owned a hall/chamber dwelling with elegant furnishing, including

[a] feather bed and furniture, black walnut table and chest that stands in the hall, 2 large pewter basins, diaper table cloth and ½ dozen napkins, one towel, and 4 leather chairs
(Will of Ann Muse 1725).

The Muses grew tobacco, and maintained livestock, including horses, cattle, and hogs. Ann left her land on Mattox Creek equally to her sons William and Edward, and the dwelling house itself to Edward. Four other sons survived Ann (Augustine, Hopkins, John and George) and three daughters (Mary Sanford, Sarah Muse, and Ann Muse). Mary's husband Robert Sanford was named guardian of her underage children (West and Fauntleroy 1982:4:448-473). William Muse married Mary Pope, daughter of prominent local landowner Humphrey Pope. George Muse, son of John Muse II, was involved in land transactions with George Washington, and served with him in the French and Indian War (*The Family History of John Muse II*, ca. 1673-1722, www.virginians.com). Another Muse descendant, James Muse, and his wife Mary Ann sold land at Mattox Bridge to William Triplett, who established Triplett's Mill at the ferry landing. It is possible that Muse himself began construction of the mill before selling it to Triplett (Eaton 1942:44) (For further information about the Muse family, see Chapter Seven).

THE OTHER EXTREME: ENSLAVED AND INDENTURED SERVANTS ON THE NORTHERN NECK

The Evolving Pattern of Labor

Those who successively owned the land that eventually became part of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument were among the principal beneficiaries of an evolving economic system increasingly dependent on enslaved labor. Although white indentured servants poured into the colony during the first half of the

seventeenth century, by mid-century, servant immigration declined dramatically. It is estimated that 75,000 whites emigrated from the British Isles to the Chesapeake colonies between 1630 and 1680, when tobacco consumption was on the rise. Alan Kulikoff concluded that one half to three-quarters of these people were indentured servants, many of whom were poor, unskilled youths. Planters were especially eager to procure male workers to work in their tobacco fields and during the 1630s six times as many men as women became indentured servants. According to Kulikoff, “the annual output of tobacco per hand rose from about 710 pounds in the 1620s to about 1,600 pounds by the 1670s; at the same time, the cost of shipping a pound of tobacco diminished by half.” Tobacco production remained profitable, for planters were able to produce more of the crop with fewer hands (Kulikoff 1986:31-33).

Research also reveals a continuing pattern of indentured servitude or small-scale tenancy. Among other facts, it appears that many indentured servants were trained in various skills highly essential to the local rural economy, particularly carpentry, milling, and iron mongering. A runaway servant advertisement placed by Augustine Washington illustrates this pattern:

RAN away from Capt. McCarty's Plantation, on Pope's Creek, in Westmoreland County, a Servant Man belonging to me the subscriber, in Prince William County, his Christian name is John, but Sirname forgot, is pretty tall, a Bricklayer by trade, and is a Kentishman, he came into Patowmack, in the Forward, Capt. Major, last Year; is suppos'd to have the Figure of our Savior marked with Gunpowder on one of his Arms. We went away about the 20th of April last, in Company with three other Servants, viz. Richard Martin, who is a middle siz'd Man, fresh colour'd about 22 years of age, and is a sailor, had on a blew jacket. Richard kibble is a middle siz'd young fellow, has several marks made with gunpowder on his arms, but particularly one on his breast, being figures of a woman and a cherry tree and is a carpenter by trade; he wore a blew grey coat with a large cape, a snuff colour'd wastecoat, and buckskin breeches. Edward Ormsby is a small thin fellow of a swarthy complexion and is a taylor by trade has a hesitation or stammering in his speech and being an Irishman, has a good deal of the Broigue. They went away from Capt. Aylett's Landing on the Patowmack, in a small boat, and are supposed to be gone towards the Eastern shore, or North Carolina. Whoever will secure the said bricklayer so that he may be had again, shall have five pounds reward, besides what the law allows, paid by Augustine Washington, NB it is not doubted by the owners of the other servants will give the same reward for each of their
(*Virginia Gazette* 1748).

Another advertisement describes a servant at large on the Northern Neck:

Ran away from the Subscriber, on the 4th instant, a Servant man, named George Hunt, a lusty tall hard favored fellow, mark'd on each Arm with letters, a cruxifix, 7c, in Gunpowder, by Trade a Caulker; had on a cinnamon coloured coat, a brown linen jacket and trousers with pieces set on the seames between the thighs. He went away with a strolling woman, and is suppos'd to be gone toward the Northern neck. ...
(*Virginia Gazette* 1752).

As these advertisements suggest, however, indentured servants were a problematic labor source at best. Relatively inexpensive to employ, they were difficult to manage, and their marketable skills were in high demand. Although labor laws were enforced, and punishments for servants who sought to shirk their responsibilities were heavy, those who could afford to do so turned increasingly to enslaved labor. The ability to purchase and maintain slaves, moreover, separated the wealthy from the middling farmers, increasing the economic disparity among the classes, and helping to create the rarified gentry class to which subsequent generations of Washington family descendants belonged. The following section will describe the nature and history of the slave economy of the Northern Neck.

Enslaving Africans

Over time, Virginia's planters gradually turned to the importation of African workers, whom they brought to the colony in increasing numbers. Many of these had specialized knowledge of agriculture and other practical skills that made a significant contribution to the developing colony. Of immediate use was Africans' familiarity with the cultivation of tobacco. Those from agrarian tribes, who had been servants or agriculturalists in their homeland, probably found it somewhat easier to adjust to the New World, for they would have had some preparation for working in agricultural fields. However, those who were used to a higher position in the social order would have found life especially difficult. Lorena S. Walsh has observed that nearly half of the approximately 5,000 African men and women bought to Virginia by the Royal African Company between 1683 and 1721 came from Senegambia. Senegambian farmers and those in Sierra Leone were familiar with the cultivation of tobacco, which had been brought to West Africa by the Portuguese in the 1500s. Africans readily took to the habit of smoking tobacco for recreation, but some African farmers cultivated tobacco expressly for trade. In Africa, both men and women were involved in tobacco

production. Women typically raised it in small family plots, whereas the men probably were responsible for growing large crops that were intended for commercial use. Tobacco was planted upon the floodplain after corn was harvested. Africans were aware that tobacco's characteristics depended upon the soil in which it was grown. All of this specialized knowledge would have been invaluable to Virginia planters in an agrarian economy (Walsh 1997:61-64).

Among the earliest references to Africans in Westmoreland County are those that concern a servant woman owned by a Captain Brent, and three servants owned by Thomas Speke and his children. In the 1660s, planters began including Africans in their head rights list. Thomas Gerard, Esq., for example, listed fourteen Africans. Captain John Appleton bequeathed five African servants to his wife (Norris 1983:525). There is general agreement that between 1640 and 1660 the status of Africans and African Americans in Virginia society began to erode, with the result that black and white servants were not treated similarly. When white indentured servants became unhappy with lengthy and sometimes ill-defined terms of service, they occasionally took legal action against their masters. But Africans brought to the colony involuntarily had a limited opportunity to become fluent in the English language and even less chance of gaining an understanding of the law. Thus, they were at a considerable disadvantage when trying to bargain for better treatment or their freedom (Tate 1965:5-6).

Whenever large planters' estates were settled, it was more likely that groups of slaves would be passed on to the next generation. This practice would have encouraged the formation and preservation of family groups. Later the practice of entailing both land and slaves made that tradition law. In contrast, the few slaves owned by small planters would have been sold to settle debts or distributed among the decedent's various heirs (Walsh 1997:30).

Extant land patents reveal that by 1635 some of those who sought to claim new land used Africans as headrights. As time went on, many more people did the same. Finally, in April 1699 the General Assembly disallowed the use of Africans as headrights (McIlwaine 1925-1945, 1:347). John Washington I, like many of his contemporaries, acquired land on the basis of the headright system, importing servants to work his land while simultaneously acquiring more acreage (Nugent 1969-1979, 1: 446, 448-449).

It is estimated that by 1649 there were approximately 300 Africans in Virginia, who comprised two percent of the colony's total population of 15,000. Although many of

the Africans transported to the Chesapeake region were from the west coast of Africa, a substantial number already had spent some time in the Spanish, Dutch and British colonies in the Caribbean as laborers on sugar, indigo, rice and tobacco plantations. Many of the Africans brought to the mainland colonies also were from Barbados (Tate 1965:12). In 1671 there were approximately 2,000 Africans in Virginia, out of a total population of 48,000. During the 1670s, the population of Africans increased by approximately 1,000 persons. In 1690, Africans or their descendants comprised approximately 7 percent of the total population of Virginia and Maryland, which together had nearly 75,000 residents. In 1700 there were an estimated 16,390 persons in Virginia who were Africans or of African descent. By 1720, blacks made up approximately 20 percent of Virginia and Maryland's total population of ca. 158,000 (Tate 1965:11-13; Walsh 1997: 25).

In March 1658, while the Commonwealth government was in power, legislation was enacted whereby all male servants, regardless of age, were to be considered tithable. Moreover, "all negroes imported whether male or female, and Indian servants male or female however procured, being 16 years of age," were to be listed as tithes. The only allowable exceptions were Christians and Natives, or those imported free, as long as they were under the age of 16 (Hening 1809-1823, 1:454). This was a revision of the October, 1649 law, which declared that all male servants of any age were deemed tithable and females were not (Hening 1809-1823, 1:361).

In 1660, when Virginia officials reduced the export duty on hogsheads of tobacco from ten shillings to two, the colonists began to trade tobacco to the Dutch in exchange for slaves. The exchange was mutually advantageous. The wording of the legislation the assembly passed acknowledged that they were fostering the importation of African slaves. It states

that if the said Dutch or other forreiners shall import any negro slaves,
They the said Dutch or others shall, for the tobacco really produced by
the sale of the said negro, pay only the impost of two shillings per
hogshead, the like being paid by our owne nation
(Hening 1809-1823, 1:540).

As soon as the English Parliament realized what was happening, it prohibited Dutch ships from trading in the English colonies. From ca. 1660 until the mid-1670s, Virginia planters were obliged to procure African workers from other sources. The result

was that they bought Africans in the West Indies or purchased them from ship captains trading in the Caribbean (Hening 1809-1823, 1:540; Walsh 1997:54).

A March 1661 law recognized the concept of service for life when it required English servants, who ran away with Africans “incapable of making satisfaction by addition of time,” to serve the time the Africans were gone. This extra period of service was added onto the white runaway’s penalty time (Hening 1809-1823, 2:26). A year later, a new law specified that if a black, who absconded with a white servant, died or otherwise was lost, the white runaway would have to pay a fine of 4,500 pounds of tobacco or serve an extra four years. It also became illegal to trade with servants without the authorization of their masters, for it was felt that servants might be tempted to steal goods that they could sell (Hening 1809-1823, 2:118-119).

On the other hand, a new law passed in March 1662 was intended to discourage masters from being cruel to their servants. The legislators noted that “the barbarous usage of some servants by cruel masters” had brought scandal and infamy to the country and therefore discouraged many men and women from coming to Virginia. The 1662 legislation stated that “every master shall provide for his servants competent dyett, clothing and lodging and that he shall not exceed the bounds of moderation in correcting them beyond the merit of their offences.” Henceforth, it was legal for servants to enter complaints against their masters by appearing before the commissioners of their local court. However, a new law was passed whereby any servant who “lay violent hands upon his or her master, mistress or overseer” could be made to serve an extra year beyond his or her intended term of service (Hening 1809-1823, 2:119-120).

During the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, there appears to have been relatively little interest in offering religious instruction to African servants and slaves. Clergy were then in short supply and many slaveholders seemingly were indifferent to their blacks’ spiritual well-being. Some may have felt that the Christian message would instill pride and make their blacks less governable. Others probably hoped that their slaves would learn more about meekness, humility and obedience and less about the brotherhood of man and freedom from oppression (Nash 1974:202-203).

One means of meeting the labor shortage was to prolong the service of blacks. Toward that end, in 1667 the assembly eliminated baptism as a possible avenue to

freedom. This was a departure from the previous consensus that non-Christians' conversion entitled them to their release. The act states that:

Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners made partakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made free; It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or ffredome.

The legislation added that "diverse masters, freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament" (Hening 1809-1823, 2: 260). Masters were encouraged to offer religious instruction to those for whom they were responsible and from September 1667 on, could do so without fearing that baptism would make their servant or slave entitled to freedom.

In 1670 a law was passed whereby "noe negroe or Indian though baptised and enjoyned their owne freedome shall be capable of any such purchase of christians, but yet [are] not debarred from buying any of their owne nation" (Hening 1809-1823, 2:280-281). By that time, service for life was the norm for most Africans entering the colony, for Virginia's lawmakers assumed that few of the new arrivals would have been converted to Christianity. They passed another law which stated that "all servants not being christians, imported into this colony by shipping, shalbe slaves for their lives; but what shall come by land shall serve, if boyes or girls, untill thirty years of age, if men or women twelve years and no longer" (Hening 1809-1823, 2:283). Although this legislation purportedly was enacted because "some disputes have arisen whither Indians taken in warr by any other nation, and by that nation that taketh them sold to the English, are servants for life or terme of years," it assured Virginia planters who invested in Indian and African servants that they could keep them for life.

Legal statutes were passed that reflected Virginia planters' perception of Africans as an investment, much as they viewed their livestock. At that time the assembly gave county courts the responsibility of seeing that orphans, who came of age, received the number of slaves to whom they were entitled, or their fair market value. The burgesses noted that sometimes slaves, who were part of an intestate decedent's estate, died or were no longer able to work by the time an orphan came of age. Therefore, local justices had the right to sell a decedent's slaves outright (after a just appraisal) or to preserve

them, whichever was in the best interest of the orphan (Hening 1809-1823, 2:288). In sum, slaves were viewed as an investment, pieces of human “property” that were construed as a measure of wealth.

By 1672 the assembly had delegated to local tithe-takers the task of recording information on “all negro, molatto and Indian children” in their districts; the owners or masters of such children were to attest to their age. Moreover, whenever black, mulatto and Indian children and slaves were born, their owners or masters were supposed to see that their date of birth was entered into the parish register within twelve months. This was done so that planters couldn’t elude taxation by saying that they did not know how old their servants and slaves were. The new law also stipulated that “all negro women borne in this country shall be accompted tythable at sixteene years of age” (Hening 1809-1823:II: 296).

In June 1680 the assembly decided that no children under the age of twelve, regardless of race, should be considered tithes, for they were too young to work. To ascertain when a slave child reached the age of twelve, “all negroe children imported... into this colony shall within three months after the publication of this law, or after their arrival” be brought to the county court and adjudged for age. No Christian servants who were less than age 14 were to be counted as tithable (Hening 1809-1823, 2:479-480). In 1691 Captain Lawrence Washington, paternal grandfather of the first president, presented “a certaine Negro (his slave) named Fox and prayed that his age might be adjudged.” The boy, whose name seems to have been Ffee, was declared to be age 7. In 1693, 1694, and 1697, Washington brought in some additional slaves and servants so that their age could be determined (Gilmore et al. 2001:78).

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, most Africans in Virginia were enslaved, although those who had converted to Christianity were sometimes exempted. Norris believes that the wide scale importation of servants was related to the settlers need to claim land, and that in the seventeenth century, there was little distinction made between Africans and other indentured servants, who sometimes formed relationships and bore children. However, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the rights of Africans were increasingly curtailed (1936:350).

As the fortunes of enslaved and indentured Africans began to decline, so did those of other non-white servants and slaves, and several court cases from northern Virginia and Maryland counties are concerned with the wrongful enslavement of East

Indians. The Westmoreland County orders for 1708 includes the following reference to such an “East Indian” slave, who somehow had made his way to Virginia:

30 March 1708, Will an East India Indian late a supposed slave to Mr. Danll Neale by his Petition to this Court setting forth that some tyme in yeare 1689 being fraudulently trappand out of his Native Country in the East Indies and thence transported to England and soon after brought into this Country and sold as a slave to Mr. Christopher Neale deceased father of his sd present Master And that hee had ever since faithfully served the sd Christopher and Daniel Notwithstanding which the sd Daniel though often demanded denied him his freedome And the sd Daniel being summoned to answer the sd complaint appeared and both parties Submitted the whole matter of the complaint to the Court All which being maturely & fully heard It is considered by the Court that the sd Will ought not to have been sold as a slave and that he is a freeman And doe therefore discharge him from all service due to the sd Christopher or Danll Neale
(Westmoreland County Orders 1708:83).

During the eighteenth century the Potomac River was the chief commercial artery for the Northern Neck and for southern Maryland. It is no accident that during this period, the slave population of both regions increased rapidly, through importations from other parts of Virginia, and directly from Africa. Studies of the numbers of slave ships on the Rappahannock and on the Northern Neck provide dramatic evidence of the volume of the traffic in human beings. Herbert Klein reports that ten ships carrying 1,060 slaves arrived on the Potomac shore of the Northern Neck, while forty-nine ships carrying as many as 5,224 slaves made recorded trips up the Rappahannock. Kulikoff cites similar numbers. Slave ships arriving from the Potomac list slaves from the coast of Africa generally, specifically Senegal, as well as from Antigua, Barbados, Gambia, Jamaica, Basse-Terre, and St. Christopher. Because of differences in tariffs and restrictions on importation some Northern Neck planters, including George Washington, purchased slaves in Maryland (Sweig 1985:517, 519). After 1760, slave ships returned to the Potomac, following reductions in Virginia’s duties. George Mason placed the following advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* in September, 1761, typical of the newly invigorated Virginia slave trade:

Just imported, in the *Upton*. . . from the River Gambia on the Coast of Africa, a cargo of choice healthy fine slaves. . . at Boyds Hole in the Patowmack River
(cited in Sweig 1985:520).

George Mason's brother Thomson owned large tracts of on the Northern Neck in the mid-eighteenth century, and he also played a role in the importation of slaves to the region (Sweig 1985:520). Those ships that brought slaves to Virginia returned to England loaded with tobacco (Sweig 1985:521). These ships, owned by Liverpool merchants, also traded on the Rappahannock River.

By the early nineteenth century, the slave population of Virginia was close to 300,000, nearly half the total population, and most of these were located in the Tidewater region. Although many were domestic or field slaves (see interview with Susannah Thompson, below), others had special skills, such as carpentry, or were occupied as millers, blacksmiths, coopers, boatmen, and cobblers. Westmoreland County had a large number of mills where African slaves and indentured servants were employed (Kulikoff 1986:12).

The large planters monopolized most of the enslaved labor, but their continued control over the productive resources of the Tidewater was also dependent on inheritance and marriage, the two principal ways of acquiring such labor (Kulikoff 1986:102,262-264). As enslaved labor became more common, white women were increasingly confined to the home, one of the factors leading to the patriarchal nature of planter society (Kulikoff 1986:7). In 1782 there were 4, 536 slaves in Westmoreland County. A significant number of slave owners (45%) owned fewer than five slaves. In contrast only a small number of plantations owned large numbers of slaves. Among these were Nomini Hall (278), Daniel McCarty (112), Richard Lee (82), Mary Smith (77), Ph. Ludwell Lee (61), William Robinson (93), John Turberville (95), John Augustine Washington (56), William Augustine Washington (69), and Thomas Turner (76) (Norris 1936:530).

ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In spite of their forced migration from Africa and the subsequent enslavement in the Americas, Africans and African-descended peoples managed to create viable life ways and nurture succeeding generations, creating a culture in part derived from their ancestral societies, located mainly in West and West-Central Africa (Holloway 1990:4). The groups who came in the early years had more similarities in languages and cultures than those who were forced into slavery in the later years of the Atlantic slave trade.

Some of these Africans had been introduced to New World agricultural crops like corn, cassava, and tobacco before their arrival in Virginia. Others came with other agricultural, boating, fishing, trading, linguistic, and metallurgical skills.

During the seventeenth century, because Africans had not yet become the main labor force, there was some flexibility in the social relations that allowed the different groups to interact, and some African Americans gained their freedom and acquired properties. Archeologists, for example, have identified material culture, particularly locally-made tobacco pipes, on sites in Virginia and Maryland which appear to reflect African-derived designs, suggesting that freed men occupied these sites. These pipes usually exhibit English-manufacturing techniques with decorations that have been attributed to either Africans or Native Americans. Several decorated examples have also been found at Flowerdew Hundred Plantation, where some of earliest African Americans in Virginia lived and worked (Deetz 1993; Mouer 1993).

As the population of Africans and African Americans grew their social conditions deteriorated. Phillip Morgan writes:

The substitution of slaves for servants probably increased the productivity and almost certainly increased the profitability of the plantation system. But slavery required new methods of disciplining the labor force, methods that were linked to racial contempt (Morgan 1975:316).

The social conditions of African Americans can be read from the landscape and material evidence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both the documentary and archeological evidence testify to the variability of slave housing and living conditions. The earliest archeologically-studied slave sites date to the 1670s, a time when planters and other elites moved their workers into separate quarters (Neiman 1993). Slave homes were usually small structures of one or two rooms with dirt floors. Some had chimney bases made of bricks but many incorporated a stick-and-mud design. Cabins were usually sided with logs chinked with clay. The framing members of these cabins were either earthfast, (set in the ground) or simply attached to footings laid directly on the ground. Overall, slave housing was meager and their poor living conditions undoubtedly contributed to their many documented health problems (Edwards-Ingram 2005). Ferdinand M. Bayard, a French traveler, noted the spare living conditions of an “enslaved couple” Maryland in 1791:

A box-like frame made of boards hardly roughed down, up-held by stakes, constituted the nuptial couch. Some wheat straw and cornstalks, on which was spread a very short-napped woolen blanket that was burned in several places, completed the wretched pallet of the enslaved couple (Bayard 1950:13).

In 1798, Julian Niemcewicz visited George Washington's Mount Vernon and wrote:

We entered one of the huts of the Blacks, for one can not call them by the name of houses. They are more miserable than the most miserable of the cottages of our peasants. The husband and wife sleep on a mean pallet, the children on the ground; a very bad fireplace, some utensils for cooking, but in the middle of this poverty some cups and a teapot. A boy of 15 was lying on the ground, sick, and in terrible convulsions. The Gl. [General] had sent to Alexandria to fetch a doctor. A very small garden planted with vegetables was close by, with 5 or 6 hens, each one leading ten to fifteen chickens (Niemcewicz 1965:100-101).

While the bulk of enslaved people's supplies were provided by their owners, they worked to provision themselves in various ways. They hunted, fished, and planted gardens and engaged in other activities to improve their diets and well-being (Atkins 1994). Enslaved Africans probably also made coarse earthenware vessels, known as colonoware. These wares were also made by Indians and occur mainly as utilitarian wares such as milk pans and bowls (Mouer 1993).

Some sense of the kinds of clothing and ornaments worn by enslaved Africans can be derived from runaway slave advertisements such as the following from the *Virginia Gazette*:

Frederick, January 3, 1783. TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD. ON the 30th of December last, a Mulatto Lad named ABEL, about twenty years of age, ran away from the subscriber, and made towards the lower parts of Virginia: He is about five feet eight inches high, has a pleasant countenance, and is apt to smile when spoken to. He carried with him a variety of cloathing, amongst others, a pair of leather breeches which have been rat-eaten about the flaps and waistband, a buff cloth waistcoat edged with blue, with brass oval buttons, and a brown regimental coat faced with green. He rode off a dark bay Mare, fourteen and a half hands high, ten years old, neither docked nor branded, trots very well, and has remarkable fine ears. As Abel is acquainted in Williamsburg, Middlesex and Westmoreland, I am convinced he is in one or other of those places. Whoever will secure him in any gaol so that I may get him again, shall be

entitled to the above reward. I likewise will give a handsome reward for the Mare. JOHN SMITH.

Similar evidence comes from other advertisements, and is corroborated by archeological evidence. For example, the site with field number FSQ259, a domestic site associated with enslaved Africans, located on a ridge overlooking Digwood Swamp, contained copper alloy buckles and a button (Gilmore et al. 2001:60).

African American Religion in the Antebellum Period

The literature on African American beliefs as they survived and were expressed in the context of enslavement in the New World and elsewhere is extensive and growing. Controversies rage over the extent to which Africanisms in material culture and ideology survive, and the nature of African American accommodation or resistance to their brutal circumstances. Many scholars have pointed to the remarkable capacity shown by African Americans, most of West African descent, to assimilate new values and behaviors and to adapt to changing circumstances. They suggest that the beliefs and traditions that enslaved Africans left behind were influential in the formation of African American culture, as was the influence of the various peoples of European and Native American descent with whom they were forced to live. William Montgomery provides a general overview of some of the cultural categories known to have characterized West African societies, and how they were manifest in the New World:

West African religions integrated the spiritual and the living worlds. The sharp divisions between heavenly and worldly domains, between good and evil, divisions that were common in Western religious thought were unknown for West African people. Furthermore, faith systems were inseparable from the homeland and from ancestors. Holy places and holy objects were used to invoke the power of the deities. Gods, spirits, and ancestors exercised the pervasive force of the sacred cosmos, and through prayer or sacrifice deities were induced to act on behalf of living persons. Deceased but remembered ancestors represented a connection between the spiritual and living worlds. These living dead possessed the attributes of both spirits and living people. They lived in the memories of those who had known them and were part of the present but they were physically dead and buried and inexorably slipped into the past in the African's concept of time. As the living dead passed from the now into the hereafter, they became transformed into spirits infused with supernatural powers and in that form returned periodically to influence the lives of the living. In their metamorphosis, the ancestors not only affirmed each living person's ultimate destiny but symbolized the eternal circle of life. The effect of the African's enslavement and removal from their native lands

caused the sacred cosmos to disintegrate by separating them from their ancestors and the spirit world (1993:13-14).

Historian Eugene Genovese also describes the emerging evangelical religious practices among African Americans as a folk religion. This folk religion, a cultural appropriation of Protestantism adapted to their West African cultural heritage, was both a crucible of black cultural consciousness and community (1974) .

Archeological investigations of slave quarters on such plantations have supported this general picture, showing systematic attempts to create private (secret?) storage spaces within slave dwellings, and the presence of numerous objects acquired through purchase or trade that were ornamental or religious in nature.

Scholarship on African American enslavement has for many years been dominated by studies of plantation slavery, the economic system that dominated the Low Country, the Caribbean, and the Virginia Tidewater. However, as historian Gary Nash reminds us:

Slavery . . . was a social institution, but it was not so uniform or totalitarian in its operation that it could completely control the lives and the cultural forms of slaves. Despite the enactment of harsh slave codes, the plantation was never so efficiently or rationally managed as to leave the slave without considerable “social space” in which to maneuver (Nash 1974:192).

Slaves on plantations were sometimes able to move around the countryside (Upton 1975), to marry, and to participate in “forest meetings” for religious or other celebrations. It is quite likely that the slaves on the Northern Neck had similar perquisites and freedoms, and likely formed ties to free blacks in the community as well.

In sum, as historian Mechal Sobel notes, there was a strong African impact on Virginia society in the eighteenth century, an influence that began in the seventeenth century. In belief systems, naming patterns, and material culture, Sobel argues that blacks and whites shared a world that they created together (Sobel 1987: 29-43, 95-99, 119 -126, 214-225).

Washington Family Slaves

Previous research on John Washington I's work force suggests that he used indentured servants as well as enslaved laborers of African descent (Hatch 1968:12-13, 17; Westmoreland County Order Book 1676-1689:100, 107; Gilmore et al. 2001:80).

Upon John Washington I's death in 1677, his wife Frances and her children from a former marriage continued to reside upon the Bridges' Creek plantation John had developed into a family seat. In November 1677 the justices of the Westmoreland County court instructed the executors of John Washington I's estate to see that Frances had "eight good Negroes according to a deed of writing." An account of the earnings of the decedent's mill also was to be maintained on her behalf. Thanks to a debt accruable to the Washington estate, an award was made "for the delivery of a Negro not appraised in said estate."

Washington family papers also provide some details about slave life at Pope's Creek. Demographic analysis suggests that a number of enslaved family groups were living there at various times. Some of these families were made up of mothers and their children. Estimates suggest that 43% of the enslaved Africans at the plantation were children during the time of John II. Augustine II's slaves included twenty-one children. It is not clear whether these children lived with both of their parents, or who were the fathers of these children. A study of slave naming patterns in the Washington papers shows an increase in the duplication of slave names through time, which suggests some family relations among them.

It is possible that some slave women also bore the children of their owners. For example, Thomas Gerard made arrangements to free his "Negro boy, baptized and named Thomas" (Dorman 1973, 2:68). This was the same Thomas Gerard accused by Richard Cole of "lie[ing] with a Negro woman or an Indian woman" (Dorman 1973, 1:37). Cole himself may have had a son by a slave woman.

Some information about Washington family slaves comes from Lawrence Washington's will and inventory, which divided the slaves up into four "equal" lots. Also included in the inventory were four unborn children, for they too were considered valuable assets. Division of the decedent's slaves into four groups probably disrupted slave families, although some efforts may have been made to keep households together. Portion A included Frank, Tom, Occory, Beck, Sarah, Kate, and Rose, plus an unborn child. Portion B included Toby, Dick, Jack, Sara, Rose, and Nanny, plus an unborn child. Portion C included the slaves named Ffee, Sarah, Bess, Betty, Sambo, and Mary plus an unborn child. The person who received Portion D received the slaves named Congoe, Tom, Will, Betty, Molly, Pegg, Nanny, and one old woman, plus an unborn child (Westmoreland County 1712-1716:135-137).

Although the Washington family inventories rarely specify the skills of their slaves, other than carpentry and milling, other records note work in numerous categories, by implication performed by slaves. Labor included animal husbandry, scullery work, food preparation, coopering, surveying, sewing/tailoring, laundry, planting, harvesting, horse grooming, coach-work, spinning, weaving, and shoe making. Lawrence Washington owned a mill inherited from John Washington I, who bequeathed it in turn to his son John Washington IV. Augustine I built a mill at Pope's Creek, where "the negro miller Frank" may have worked.

John Washington II inherited property from his father while still a minor, and built his career as a planter using bound labor. His estate listed six "negroes" in two quarters, as well as eight "Mulattos." Lawrence Washington I also had one Native American laborer (Dorman 1962:29). In 1712, Lawrence Washington I had 26 "negroes" listed in his estate. Some of these were inherited by Augustine Washington I, George Washington's father. Augustine I's first wife, Jane Butler Washington, also inherited seven "negroes" from her parents. Augustine's second wife, Mary Ball Washington brought slaves to her marriage inherited from her father, and later, her half-brother John Johnson.

By the time of Augustine's death in 1743, there were 11 slaves on his Westmoreland County estate, some of which were the property of his mother. Mary Washington, Augustine Washington Junior's step-mother received "the Crops made at Bridge Creek, [as well as those at] Chotank and Rappahannock Quarters for the support of herself and her children." She used the "Bridge Creek Quarter," for five years after her husband's death (Hatch 1979:41; 51). It was here that Augustine II (known as Austin) was living at Pope's Creek by 1744. During his tenure there, Austin acquired at least 80 slaves. These included Luci and Lawrence, "carpenter[s]," and "old negro miller Frank." It is clear that, in addition to their work on the plantation, Austin's slaves worked on the numerous mills operating in the country in the eighteenth century, as did the slaves at Landon Carter's estate at Nomini Hall.

The most valuable slaves in the estate of Augustine II were Luci and Lawrence, and a "Carpenter Dick" was also listed. George Washington himself provided a contract laborer, Benjamin Buckler, with slaves for work at Mount Vernon. George Washington hired other skilled slaves as carpenters and coopers, including one named Nase. Enslaved men also worked in the nascent iron industry in Westmoreland County,

including Augustine I's mine at Accokeek Creek, leased to the Principio Mining Company, and managed by John England. By 1736, the works at Accokeek included a mine, a furnace, a store, a grist mill, a stable, and a plantation. Undoubtedly the labor required to run this operation was largely enslaved.

Enslaved women were engaged in a variety of tasks, including dairying, sewing, and weaving. There were a number of black female healers as well. One of the items in Augustine Washington II estate was hartshorn, a medicinal herb known to African Americans in Westmoreland County today (see Chapter Eight).

Archeological investigations at George Washington Birthplace National Monument include excavations in several locations thought to have been "quarters" associated with various work groups made up enslaved Africans and their white overseers. Augustine Washington I maintained five work units, known as "quarters" on his Westmoreland County estate, three of which included slaves. Excavations at GWB meant to investigate the archeological evidence of the presence of enslaved Africans located two sites thought to be quarters: site 44WM218, known as the Field Slave Quarter, previously thought to be the home of Jane Brooks, has now been identified as a slave quarter, dating between 1725 and 1800. Nearby is site 44WM219, also identified as a slave quarter. The Field Slave Quarter site produced fragments of refined earthenwares, table glass, and porcelain dishes. Other sites at GWB which may have housed slaves yielded buckles, buttons, and pipes (Gilmore et al. 2001:59-60).

Philip Morgan has noted that by the early eighteenth century, white and African American segments of Westmoreland County's population were roughly equal, and suggests that there was significant contribution from Native Americans as well (GWB Conference Presentation, 2006). Over time, most of the African American population, like that of Euro-Americans, was native born, with few contributions from slaves imported directly from Africa. Morgan calls the resulting population a "creole." If this is true, then the majority of the region's population, poor to middling farmers, had developed social mores and economic practices which were historically unique and distinctive. The following section discusses the people who made up this segment of society, their material culture and social characteristics.

POOR TO MIDDLE FARMERS ON THE NORTHERN NECK

The portrait of Northern Neck society and economy presented thus far has focused on the two extremes: the small, intermarried group of large landowners, and the enslaved Africans who, along with indentured servants, made their prosperity possible. The much larger group of poor-to-middle Anglo-Americans, among whom the Washington family rose to prominence has received less attention. In telling the story of GWB, however, the social, religious, and judicial system created and sustained by the residents of the Northern Neck is crucial to understanding how prominent families came into being, and how their influence continued to be felt. The immigrant European population included the indentured servants and their descendants in the region, some of whom founded families that acquired great wealth. Later generations of tenant farmers, small landholders, and others are also of interest to this project, as these people formed the majority of the local population and contributed to the character of the region. Indentured servants interacted with, and in some cases intermarried with, African Americans and Native Americans, and their descendants added to the cultural diversity of the region today (Fausz 1985; Horn 1988).

A Social Portrait of Middle Planters

In a presentation delivered to the Scholar's Round Table on History held on May 22, 2006, Philip Morgan argued that there were three aspects of Washington's world that are worthy of examination: (1.) its provincialism, (2.) the youth of its population, and (3.) the multiracialism of the population. According to Morgan, kinship networks in the region were extensive, with little contribution from in-migration after the second or third generation. This provincial kin network was reinforced by the absence of cities or urban life. As Lorena Walsh and Lois Green Carr have also noted, the population of colonial Virginia generally was a youthful one. Children seldom grew to adulthood in the households of both of their birth parents; elderly people were the exception, rather than the rule. Morgan suggests that among other things, the uncertainties of life led some, such as Washington himself, to a sense of urgency, to seize adult roles and responsibilities relatively early in their lives (Morgan 2006).

Kinship and Marriage

The community of middling farmers, like that of their social superiors, was based upon kinship ties. These were of many varieties: spouses, godparents, wards, and guardians. Ties were frequently expanded through remarriage as well. The death of women in or following childbirth, and the relatively young age at death of so many men, such as members of the Washington family (Hatch 1979:24), created chains of families, linked together by stepparents. This network crosscut the consanguineal kin ties and formed the basis for a tightly knit, although geographically extended, community. For example, David Wickliffe was the fourth but not last husband of Mary. John Washington was married three times. As widows and widowers remarried, more children were brought by them into the kinship chain. Death not only caused family size to increase, but, also, often left orphans. Becoming a trustee or guardian was “of special interest” to Lawrence Washington. Not only were such legal assignments profitable, but they, too, extended the family circle. Godchildren often found not only a religious relationship with their godparents, but a loving one, as evinced in the frequent mentions of the gifts to them in wills. Lorena Walsh argues that, in Middlesex County, Virginia, through time neighborhood ties became less important than kinship links, such that, in 1687, 17% of all friendships between household heads involved a tie by marriage. By 1724, 64% of all ties were kin ties (Walsh 1988:225).

The Material World of Middling Planters

On the Northern Neck in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, farming was the favored occupation, and vernacular architecture had a distinctly local feel, although English society continued to provide models for dress, social ritual and recreation. The rural character of the region was reinforced, Morgan argued, by the high rate of tenancy as opposed to ownership among the small farmers. The poverty of the region was also partially attributable to the poor quality of tobacco grown there. In a comparison between social structures and economic patterns in England (specifically from Gloucestershire, where many immigrants to Maryland had lived) and the western shore of Maryland in the seventeenth century, James Horn observes that there were striking differences between seventeenth-century English society and that in the New World (1988:147ff). For example, there was little to attract the aristocracy and highborn gentry of England to the New World. The manorial system was “anachronistic” in a society of

freeholders, and, as Horn points out, “lacking towns and industry, and with a relatively small and dispersed population, the Chesapeake did not require the range of specialist trades and crafts to be found in the Vale of Berkeley and elsewhere in England.” Thus the social status attached to such specializations did not “transfer” to the New World (1988:147).

Several scholars make mention of the straightened economic circumstances of many seventeenth-century immigrants and settlers in the Chesapeake. James Horn notes that most immigrants arrived in the region with no capital, and the high mortality rate prevented families from accumulating capital during their relatively short lives, capital they could in turn pass on to heirs (1988:149). For example, in the late 1650s and 1660s, close to ten percent of those Maryland residents inventoried had less than ten pounds of personal goods, and 60% had less than fifty pounds (cited in Horn 1988:150).

On the other hand, even the relatively affluent farmers lived in dwellings significantly poorer than did their English counterparts. As Barbara and Cary Carson have noted, living standards for poorer households were “remarkably, almost unimaginably, primitive” (1976).³⁴ Horn attributes the parsimonious nature of many household inventories to three factors: unfavorable economic conditions, high mortality rates, and dependence on English merchants for goods (1988:163).

Not surprisingly, in addition to enduring impoverished material surroundings, poor to middling farmers were less well fed than those with greater means. Citing archeologist Henry Miller, Horn argues that there were significant differences in meat consumption between middling farmers and the elite (1988:185). Ironically, in Maryland in the late seventeenth century, venison was more common in wealthy diets than in those of middling farmers (1988:186). In the early eighteenth century, the increased access to domesticated animals among people of all economic levels improved the diets of less wealthy families (1988:188). Surprisingly, Miller found that although evidence suggests that wild game were still available in the early eighteenth century, fewer households in any economic category show evidence of significant use of game (1988: 193). Miller suggests that the concentration of domesticated animals in the diet was a function of

³⁴ Barbara Carson and Cary Carson, “Styles and Standards of Living in Southern Maryland, 1670-1752,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association,” Atlanta, GA p. 17. Cited in Horn, 1988:154 note 53.

their value to middling and prosperous families; cattle and other livestock were both commercially valuable, and were also “vehicles” for transferring wealth (1988: 194).

Although conditions improved for middling farmers by the 1680s, significant economic disparity continued to mark Northern Neck society throughout the eighteenth century. One measure of the differences between middling planters and the elite is the average number of slaves held by each group. In Westmoreland County, half of the slave owners in the county owned fewer than five slaves, while fourteen families owned a third of the total enslaved population. However, this pattern masks greater complexities. Historian Jean Lee has argued, based on an analysis of inventories from several Virginia and Maryland counties in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that enslaved or indentured servants were as valuable assets as the land they farmed, and that women were as likely to inherit labor as were men. Thus, wealth was often accumulated through marriage, and women’s property played a significant role in social and economic advancement (Lee 1988:321). Marriage ties among elite families served the further function of consolidating the labor force in the hands of a small number of families as well.

Housing and Settlement Pattern in the Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, the average house in Tidewater, Virginia measured only 420 square feet. Approximately 90 percent of these houses were of frame construction. Most farms had domestic complexes that included five or six buildings: a main dwelling, outbuildings (such as kitchens, tobacco houses, smoke houses, dairies, and barns), and slave quarters. Researchers who have examined eighteenth-century real estate advertisements found that the majority of buildings on tracts of 200 acres or less had wooden chimneys and underpinnings.

One man who visited Virginia in 1779 said that only the “better sort” had houses that had lathing and plaster on the inside. Another observer said that many dwellings had no glass in the windows (Niemcewicz 1965). Most homes simply had wooden shutters. Another visitor, who traveled in eastern Virginia in 1794 wrote that scattered throughout the countryside were “a few mediocre houses.” He noted that a fence usually enclosed a large lot of ground on which was built “the most primitive sort of log or weatherboarded dwelling” (Niemcewicz 1965).

Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh's portrait of middling planters of York and Elizabeth City Counties between 1781 and 1792 suggests that such farmers were likely to own either land or slaves, but not both (1988). Middling farmers' marital status and age affected their ability to accumulate wealth, for property often was acquired through marriage or inheritance, or both.

Likewise, whether or not middling farmers owned or rented land also affected their ability to accumulate wealth. Sometimes, fecundity (reproductive fertility) overwhelmed farm families' ingenuity, for the economic gains made by one generation often were dispersed among numerous heirs. Carr and Walsh found that the most crucial factor in the success of such families was their ability to acquire additional labor. Many hired field hands on a seasonal basis (1988). The authors also found that those who invested a significant portion of their assets in livestock were less likely to have made a significant investment in slaves. Probate inventories show that middling farmers had a surprisingly small number of tools. Approximately 75 percent of middling farmers had hoes, axes and carts. Usually, the carts were pulled along by horses or mules. Carts would have been used for hauling and for basic transportation. Approximately half of middling farmer households owned a plow. Relatively few owned scythes, sickles and equipment useful in harvesting small grains. Quite a few middling farmers owned fishing equipment or tongs for harvesting oysters and other shell fish. Some owned canoes. Approximately three-fourths of York County's rural households owned horses. Two-thirds of middling farmers owned one or more saddles. More than three-fourths of York County's rural households owned cattle, but relatively few middling farmers had oxen. Most rural families had barnyard poultry. Most had swine, but relatively few middling farmers seem to have had sheep.

Domestic Life

Most households had spinning wheels and other equipment for producing thread and yarn. Women carded cotton, and worked with flax and with wool. The middling farmer's wife would have prepared and preserved food. Mothers taught daughters how to be farmers' wives. Females in the household would have washed and ironed, made butter, tended livestock and poultry, made candles and soap, and been involved in dairying. By the 1780s most families of middling means had two or three beds, a table, several chairs, a chest and a variety of cooking equipment. Some inventories included

tools for woodworking and other crafts. Middling farmers with marketable skills could use them to supplement their household's income.

The Rev. Devereaux Jarrett, a New Kent County minister, whose parents had been of middling means, said that they always had "plenty of plain food," which he described as "wholesome and good." The family's clothing was homemade, although their hats and shoes were purchased from others. Jarrett said that his family looked upon "gentle folks" as "beings of a superior social order." They were easy to recognize because they wore wigs. He said that if he saw a man riding along, wearing a wig, he would "run off, as for my life." Jarrett said that his parents' greatest ambition was to teach their children to read, write and do arithmetic (Niemcewicz 1965).

Architectural surveys of Westmoreland County suggest that like elsewhere in the colony, settlers were constrained or content to construct non-permanent or earthfast structures throughout most of the seventeenth century, and that few substantial houses were built prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Westmoreland County, the only surviving house from the seventeenth century is a much-altered building known as the Glebe. Other early eighteenth-century structures are Waterview, Elba, and the Rochester House. The Yeocomico Church is another early eighteenth century building. All of these appear to reflect building styles typical of the regions from which English settlers of the Northern Neck came.

Although the "big houses" of the county, such as Nomini Hall, Stratford, and Peckatone, were designed in the Neo-Palladian fashion, and have been well-studied by architectural historians, middling-to-poor housing is less well known. The oldest house in Colonial Beach, known as Shellfield (destroyed in the 1960s) originally had a thatched roof (Harris 1983:207). The story-and-a-half structure had two end chimneys, three dormers, and a pedimented front porch. The Pope's Creek plantation, excavated in the 1930s, and reinvestigated since, was also a story and a half, but contained four major rooms and six large chimneys. This structure shares some similarities with Twiford, although the massive double chimneys on the latter are unique (Harris 1983:207-208).

While not examples of high-style architecture, these were substantial houses of prosperous settlers. Little remains of the dwellings of less affluent settlers, still less of slave quarters and other dwellings. Some clues come from the outbuildings at Campbellton, probably built around 1800. These include a schoolhouse, a law office, and



Figure 6: Rochester House, Westmoreland County.
Courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS).

a dairy. To gain a closer look at poor-to-middling or tenant farmer houses, scholars have turned to archeological research. Excavations conducted by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 1999 at GWB, for example, revealed several structures that may have been occupied by tenant farmers, or slaves, or both.

The properties occupied by George Washington Birthplace National Monument today were home to a number of families of a “middling” sort, including the Abbingtons, Browns and the Muses. At GWB, site 44WM89, the “birthplace site” also contains three small dwellings which may have been tenant houses, as well as five others which have been identified as “quarters.” The site with field number FS89 in Gilmore et al. 2001, on the peninsula near the birthplace site, appears to be a mid-seventeenth to eighteenth century farmstead occupied by a middling farmer, possible Lawrence Abbington. This house was located near what has been identified as the slave quarter (field number HSQB in Gilmore et al. 2001). The surviving architectural remains suggest a higher standard of living than indicated at other sites in this vicinity, including the remains of a brick chimney, and major structural timbering indicating a substantial frame. Artifacts associated with this dwelling including local potter Morgan Jones ceramics and Chinese

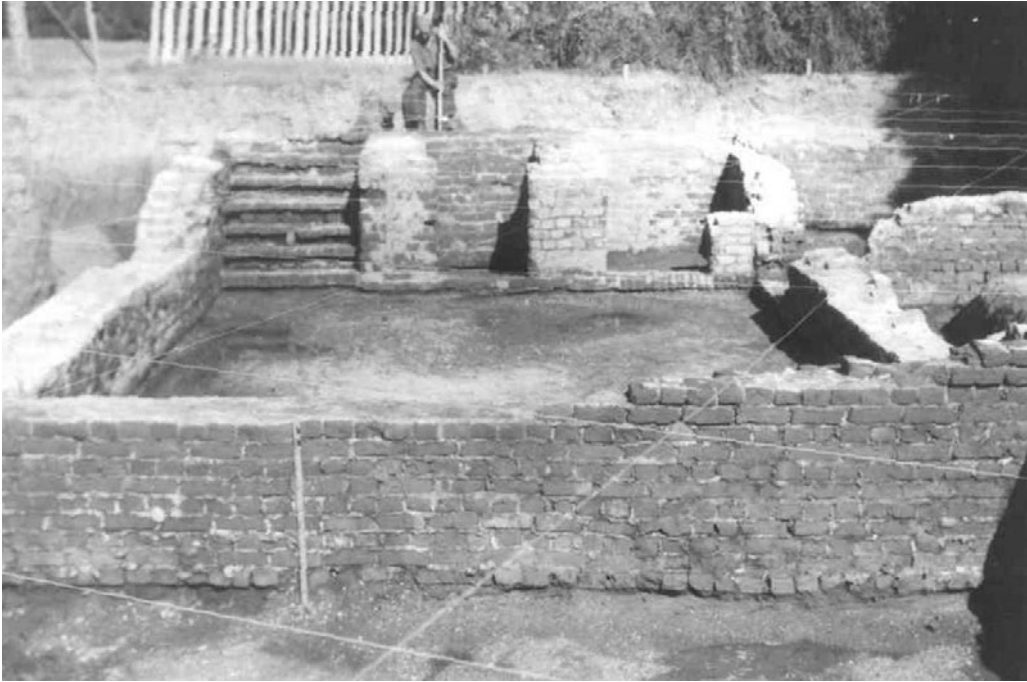


Figure 7: Excavations in preparation for building the Memorial House, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, ca. 1930.

porcelain fragments. It is possible that the ditches associated with the property were boundary ditches, setting Abbingdon's property from that of other farms nearby. Archeologists believe that Abbingdon later turned this house over to servants when he moved to the dwelling that was to become the core of Augustine Washington's home.

Another site, located near the Muse family cemetery, indicates primary occupation during the second half of the seventeenth century, with an additional period of occupation in the eighteenth century. Archeologists suggest that this was the home of a farmer of very modest means, possibly Original Brown, mentioned above. For example, although one posthole and postmold feature found at the site indicated a substantial wooden frame, other evidence indicates that the structure was an "earthfast" building, typical of the "impermanent" architecture which characterized Virginia's housing inventory in the seventeenth century (Carson et al. 1981). Later, yellow and red bricks, possibly "robbed" from the John Washington site, were used to add a hearth and chimney to the building. The Abbingdon house, like the John Washington, Henry Brooks, and David Anderson dwellings, may later have served as servant or slave dwellings (Gilmore et al. 2001:62). The Original Brown farm was also part of a small "neighborhood" of modest dwellings, all of which are indicated on a 1683 map of the

property (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:131). It is possible that these modest buildings were later used as field hands' dwellings as well (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1999:131). Another pattern, the gradual breaking up of large, original patents into small holdings also developed, and may be represented at the Henry Brooks site (Gilmore et al. 2001:61, 62).

Finally, the site with field number FSQ218 in Gilmore et al. 2001, near the John Washington homestead, was a post-in-ground structure occupied between 1725 and 1800. This structure had a brick chimney base and a hearth made of imported, yellow, Dutch fireplace brick. Artifacts included a cast-iron shoe buckle, and sherds of eighteenth-century imported ceramics such as Buckley ware, creamware, Rhenish stoneware, American blue and grey stoneware and one sherd of Chinese porcelain, as well as a lead glass tumbler fragment, a case bottle fragment, and many small pieces of wine bottle fragments. Another structure was also associated with this building as well, which archeologists think may also have been a dwelling.

THE DECLINE OF TOBACCO FARMING AND THE BREAKUP OF LARGE PLANTATIONS

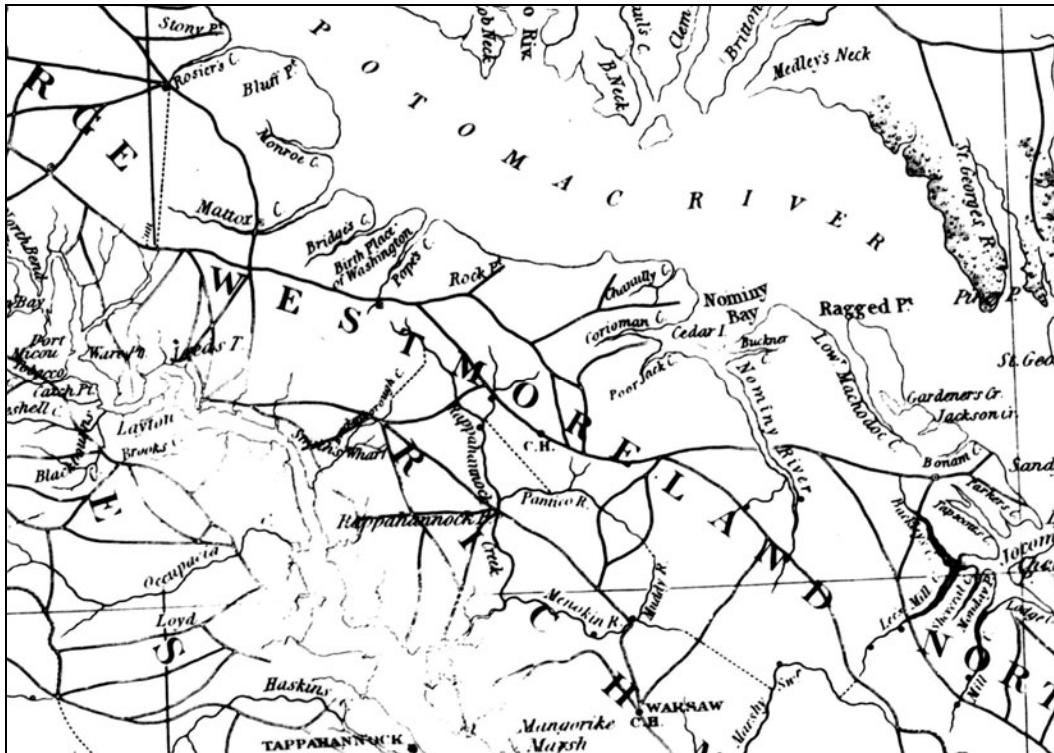
The population of Westmoreland County and its neighbors Northumberland, Lancaster, and Richmond showed only moderate growth in the second half of the eighteenth century. Table 3 summarizes the figures for the region based on the 1790 census.

Table 3: 1790 Census Population Figures

County	Total Population	Slaves
Northumberland	9,163	4,460
Lancaster	5,638	3,236
Stafford	9,588	4,036
Richmond	6,985	3,984
King George	7,300	4,519
Prince William	11,615	4,704
Fairfax	12,320	4,574
Westmoreland	7,722	4,425
Loudon	18,962	4,030
Fauquier	17,892	6,642

According to Morgan and Nicholls these figures substantiate the movement of Virginia's population towards the Piedmont. They argue that this out-migration was due to population pressure on Tidewater resources, land speculation and the labor requirements of tobacco production. During the period 1755-1790, Morgan and Nicholls estimate that the Tidewater farmers and planters owned twice as many slaves as did those in the Piedmont. However, by 1790, fewer than half of Virginia's enslaved population lived in the Tidewater. Not only was tobacco production moving to the Piedmont, but population (both white and black) was moving westward as well. The Northern Neck entered a stage of economic decline in the early nineteenth century, characterized by the breakup of large plantations and the adoption of a mixed farming economy supplemented by fishing, forestry, and light industry. The transformation towards a mixed agricultural economy did not appreciatively alter the social order of the region, nor, ironically, did the Civil War. The changes and continuities of Northern Neck society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PREMODERN PERIOD ON THE NORTHERN NECK



Map 10: Detail of the Herman Boye Map, 1826.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

From 1790 to 1900, the population of Westmoreland and other Northern Neck counties such as Stafford, Richmond, and Northumberland remained static. According to the U.S. Census, during the nineteenth century, Westmoreland County gained a total of 1,521 people. During this period, descendants of the planter families, who now called themselves farmers, practiced a mixed form of agriculture, with an emphasis on corn and other grains. Some formerly agricultural lands were returned to woodland, dedicated to livestock, or sown with hay. Many farmers grew vegetables and fruits for their own use or for sale. Farmers who could afford it purchased properties in different locations throughout the county, while others were absentee owners. For example, real estate tax rolls for 1816 reveal that John Gray, who purchased George Corbin Washington's 1,300

acres, now part of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, lived elsewhere. Grey later bought 60 acres known as Duck Hall, which like his 1,300 acres, contained no buildings (Westmoreland County n.d.a, 1816-1822).

The turn away from tobacco in Westmoreland County in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not encourage the large planters to be less dependent on enslaved labor, however. At that time, the fourteen most prosperous planters in the county owned more than fifty slaves each. Among these was William Augustine Washington, who owned 69 slaves. Robert Carter, the wealthiest resident of Westmoreland County, owned 287 slaves (Norris 1983:530).

William Augustine Washington did not live in Westmoreland County in the early nineteenth century, but his slaves were distributed among his four farms there, the one at Bridges' Creek devoted to "the production of Indian corn, wheat and barley [with] annually heavy crops of wheat and corn of an excellent quality." The property also contained grazing lands (possibly former tobacco fields) and "several hundred acres of natural mowable meadow." This productive property also included woodlands which supplied timber, railings, and firewood, as well as cedar, along with an apple and peach orchard and other fruit trees. The house, known as Haywood, built at the cliff's edge in the early nineteenth century, was described as "a wooden dwelling two stories high 60 by 32 feet, with two one story wings" (Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia 1805). Upon William Augustine Washington's death in 1810, his wife, Sarah Tayloe Washington, returned to Haywood and managed the 2500-acre Blenheim/Haywood property, including his slaves, until her death in 1820 (Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia 1816). Sarah Tayloe Washington's daughter of the same name married her cousin Lawrence Washington, and they too lived at Haywood, while attempting to sell Blenheim, then described as "a brick house a little out of repair, sufficiently commodious for the accommodation of a small family, with an excellent meat house and dairy" (Washington 1820).³⁵ All the Blenheim and Haywood properties continued to be worked with enslaved labor.

³⁵ In spite of efforts to sell Blenheim, it remained in the hands of the Washington family. After the Civil War, Lawrence Washington and his wife Julia Carpenter lived at Blenheim. Haywood stood so close to the cliffs of the Potomac that it eventually was washed away. A later house on the property, also known as Haywood, is still occupied by Latane family descendants, the Tunes. Blenheim was sold in the early twentieth century, but Lawrence Latane II purchased and restored it in the 1970s. Lawrence Latane III lives there today.

A number of other owners of the properties that are now part of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument also owned slaves. Table 4 summarizes their numbers, listed as taxable property between 1814 and 1845:

Table 4: Slave Counts, 1814-1845 (Westmoreland County n.d.b)

Name	Date	No. of slaves over 12 years
John Gray	1814	13
John Gray	1815	20
John Gray	1820	42
Atchison Gray	1820	20
Atchison Gray	1821	28
John Gray	1832	35
Henry T. Garrett	1833	4
Daniel Payne	1834	94
Charles Jet	1839	72
Charles Jet	1840	51
Charles Jet	1843	48
Charles Jet	1844	18
Charles Jet	1845	39

Henry Garrett and Daniel Payne were partners, and together mustered a significant enslaved work force. Garrett and Payne owned a large number of horses, asses, and mules, the care of which was presumably the responsibility of their slaves. On October 19, 1835, Henry T. Garrett sold his interest in the farm to his partner, Daniel Payne. Slaves may have been part of the bargain, for in 1835 Garrett was credited with 19 slaves who were at least 16 and 25 who were at least age 12. Daniel Payne died during 1835, leaving his acreage and slaves to his daughter, Elizabeth, a minor (Hatch 1968:106-107; Westmoreland County 1831-1833:215; 1833-1835:18, 69; Westmoreland County n.d.b 1833-1838). Elizabeth's executor in turn sold the estate to Charles C. Jet (or Jett) in 1838. Jet entered into a deed of trust with Patrick C. Hobb four days later.

Charles Jet owned three parcels of land in Westmoreland County, including 200 acres with buildings valued at \$800.00, 1300 acres with buildings valued at \$400.00 and 60 acres without structures on them. It is possible that Jet built the structures listed on these properties, although it is not clear which ones. Jet defaulted his loans to Patrick

Hobb in 1843, and the entire property was put up for sale. It was then advertised as having “a small dwelling house, with the necessary out-houses, attached to it; overseer’s house, barns and every convenience which could be required on a farm of this size” (Hatch 1979:63). However, it is not clear if this description refers to the house now known as “Wakefield” which may have been the new structure listed on the property in the 1846 Land Tax lists. This same year, John F. Wilson had purchased this property, and thus may have built the house, a theory which accords with family tradition (interview with Lawrence Latane I, 1976).

By the mid-nineteenth century, agricultural production on the Northern Neck had become increasingly diversified. Agricultural census records reveal that a variety of grain and forage crops were being raised, along with a limited amount of cotton. Livestock production also had become important (Westmoreland County 1850a).

The Wilson/Latane Family

John E. Wilson, whose father purchased Daniel Payne’s property, practiced such mixed farming. Wilson owned 30 slaves in 1847, twelve of whom were adolescents. Three years later, the number of slaves had increased to thirty five, ranging in age from 56 to one year. Twenty of these were older than 16 years. Three individuals listed in Wilson’s household were also classified as “mulatto.” One of these people, a 15-year-old girl, was also described as deaf (Westmoreland County 1850b). Wilson’s son, John F. Wilson, married Elizabeth Washington, an heir to Lawrence Washington’s properties. One of their daughters, Susan Wilson, married the Reverend James Latane, whose family had lived in Westmoreland County since the late seventeenth century. The Latanes continued to live at Wakefield, where they owned at least a dozen African American slaves immediately prior to the Civil War.

The Muse Family Farms

Smaller farms were also common on the Northern Neck in the early nineteenth century, and the Muse family properties adjacent to what is now Park property were such farms. As noted in the previous chapter, the Muses had been Washington family neighbors since the middle of the eighteenth century. At the time when a legal dispute between John Washington III and his cousin Augustine Washington resulted in a survey of their property near Bridges’ Creek (Berry 1742), there is, just below the John

Washington property line, a note reading “where John Muse lives” (OCULUS 1999: figure 9). A John Muse leased land from William Augustine Washington in 1787 on the north branch of Pope’s Creek, probably between Digwood Swamp and Pope’s Creek along the Potomac shore (Hatch 1979:12). It is not clear when and if the Muse family purchased this property outright. The Lamkin survey of 1813 refers to “the Great Quarter gate corner to Thomas Muse” (OCULUS 1999:2-27 n.72). In 1850, George Muse farmed this property with the help of nine slaves, grew corn, wheat, and hay, and raised livestock as well. George Muse’s farm was between 160 and 198 acres, most of which was under cultivation. Subsequent divisions of the Muse property which took place between 1846 and 1932 resulted in four parcels, owned by R. Muse, Harry C. Muse, E. or F. Muse, and H.G (Goodwin) Muse (Hatch 1979:13). In the late nineteenth century, there were at least two farm residences on these properties, one occupied by Charles Muse and the other by Robert Muse.

MIXED FARMING ON THE NORTHERN NECK: LAND USE AT AND NEAR GEORGE WASHINGTON’S BIRTHPLACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1849, 500 acres at Wakefield were classified as “improved” (that is, under the plow or in other agricultural use) and the remaining 860 acres were “unimproved.” John E. Wilson’s livestock, which were valued at \$1,500, included 9 horses, 5 asses and mules, 10 milk cows, 12 working oxen, 15 other cattle, 45 sheep, and 15 swine. During the 1849 crop year, the farm produced 1,600 bushels of wheat; 3,500 bushels of Indian corn; 15 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 10 bushels of sweet potatoes. Wilson’s sheep yielded 120 pounds of wool and his dairy cattle had enabled 100 pounds of butter to be made. During 1849, \$250 worth of animals were slaughtered (Westmoreland County 1850a). Property surveys from the nineteenth century show a system of fences and gates that probably reflect the separation of different planting fields for specific crops on a rotating basis (e.g., Lamkin survey, 1813; Lindenkohl survey, 1897, cited in OCULUS 1999). In the early nineteenth century, tobacco was replaced by corn and grains as principal crops, along with the raising of livestock. Stock was contained by fencing, and hedgerows. In the mid-nineteenth century, when John E. Wilson farmed at Wakefield, census information lists 500 “improved” acres, yielding 1600 bushels of wheat, 3500 bushels of corn, and 25 bushels of Irish and sweet potatoes. He later added hay as a cash crop.

Significantly, the amount of land under improvement was only a fraction of that in use during the Washington's time, with nearly two thirds listed as "unimproved" woodlots, old fields, and/or abandoned pasturage.

Drainage Systems

Ditches which drained off excess water, and marked property and field boundaries, became common in the late seventeenth century. Maps show that agricultural ditches lined Bridges' Creek Road, probably constructed in the early nineteenth century with enslaved labor (OCULUS 1999, 2:42). Goodwin Muse, a farmer on properties now part of George Washington's Birthplace, thought the ditches were more than 100 years old at the time of the interview (1986). Thus, they were likely dug and maintained by slaves.

Livestock Management and Dairying

Livestock was fenced, and also allowed to forage in woodlands. Pryor's report on forage crops suggests that the high priority placed on tobacco in the seventeenth century relegated livestock to less nutritive marsh grasses. In the eighteenth century, planters in Westmoreland County including Landon Carter and George Washington, were experimenting with various grasses as fodder. Another planter from the eastern shore, James Wilson, wrote extensively about meadow grasses. Authors of the OCULUS report speculate that this Wilson may have been related to the John Wilson who later owned Wakefield farm (1999, 2:35). Wilson's heir, John E. Wilson, owned considerable livestock, including sheep, oxen, horses, and mules.

Farm Outbuildings

The construction and maintenance of farm buildings was a significant effort in farm labor since the seventeenth century. A number of such structures have been identified by archeologists at GWB, and some survived to the period of the park's establishment. For example, the Goodwin properties included several storage buildings, a barn, and a dairy. Ellen Latane Gouldman recalled, in addition to a large barn, a "meat house" and an icehouse on the property at Wakefield (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007). A complete list of nineteenth-century farm structures and other buildings appears in the Cultural Resources Survey for the Park (OCULUS 1999).

Nineteenth-Century Kitchen Gardens

The property known as Blenheim, outside the park's boundaries, contains evidence of a garden space near the house, possibly a kitchen garden, associated with a brick wall (interview with Lawrence Latane II). A similar garden space has been identified at Wakefield, John E. Wilson's house on Pope's Creek (OCULUS 1999, 2:42). All the farms had fruit trees, including figs and cherries, and Wakefield had an ornamental garden as well (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

Wharfs and Bridges

The Lindenkohl survey of 1879 includes reference to the Pope's and Bridges' Creek landings. Another wharf was constructed at Bridges Creek landing at the beginning of commemorative activities in 1893-94. A bridge once linked the Haywood and Blenheim properties, which has since been allowed to deteriorate (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

The Landscape of Slavery at George Washington Birthplace

Nineteenth-century descriptions suggest that enslaved peoples sometimes lived in separate "quarters" or slept in various farm outbuildings. Archeological excavations at GWB have identified three structures that may have housed slaves (see Chapter Four). Ellen Latane Gouldman speculated that slaves may have lived in some of the outbuildings at Wakefield. At least three cemeteries where slaves were interred are known on the properties surrounding the park; one, the "Pea Hill" cemetery on the road leading to Blenheim, had some marked graves in the early twentieth century (interviews with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007, and Lawrence Latane III, 2007). Another was near the nineteenth-century home known as Wakefield, now owned by James Latane III (interview with Ellen Gouldman, 2007). The third was on the Muse farm. Outbuildings dating to the nineteenth century at Blenheim were likely to have housed slaves as well, and were certainly the locations where much of the work that they performed was done.

The Changing Enslaved Population

Population figures for the early nineteenth century suggest that while racial parity was characteristic of the period, both whites and enslaved Africans represented a smaller proportion of the total population than had been true in the late eighteenth century. This is because, by mid-century, a significant number of free blacks also lived in the region.

Morgan and Nicholls document a steady movement of white “younger sons” out of the area, as they migrated westward in search of land and greater opportunities (Morgan and Nicholls 2004: 216). Their analysis of the Muse family genealogy, neighbors of the Washingtons, demonstrates this trend (Morgan and Nicholls 2004: 216). Enslaved people were part of this out-migration as well, while planters who remained in the region were able to draw upon the growing population of native-born slaves for their labor needs. As diversification into small-grain agriculture took hold in the Tidewater, the region’s planters began to seek out and train male slaves for a variety of artisanal work, and to perform the varied activities required by a mixed-farming economy, including the plowing, carting, and harvesting that came with wheat farming (Morgan and Nicholls 2004: 233). Other enslaved men were valuable additions to the maritime industries, enjoying a special status and highly paid.

Daily Life

Robert Carter’s records provide a detailed portrait of the lives of enslaved peoples on his plantation at Nomini Hall, not far from George Washington Birthplace, in the late eighteenth century. Carter entrusted some of his slaves with valuable property, set slave women to be wet nurses for his children, and sent for doctors to see to their illnesses (Norris 1983:529). Along with a number of other planters of the New Republic, Robert Carter III, who inherited hundreds of slaves from his grandfather Robert “King” Carter of Nomini Hall, executed a Deed of Manumission freeing 433 of his slaves in 1791. Carter also provided for their support thereafter.

Many historians have written about the sometimes close relations that existed among masters and slaves in the antebellum South. A well-known example comes from Stratford Plantation, near George Washington’s Birthplace, where the enslaved Payne family had served the Lees for many generations. William Wesley Payne was born at Stratford, the son of enslaved parents, in 1877. “Uncle Wes,” as he was known, lived at Stratford all his life, and a replica of his family’s cabin has been constructed there in his honor by the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association. Payne family descendants still recognize their links to Stratford today.

However, the legislative history of Virginia is replete with evidence for the numerous restrictions applied to slaves. Slaves were forbidden to attend meetings, to travel from their plantations without permission, to conduct religious services at night,

to associate with whites or free negroes, own firearms, use boats, own dogs, or learn to read and write. Slaves who failed to comply could be flogged, or even put to death.

Among the narratives of freed slaves, several from Westmoreland County stand out. A former Westmoreland County slave, Susanna Rebecca Wright Thompson (“Aunt Becky”), was interviewed by folklorists Archibald A. Hill and Guy S. Lowman in Oldhams, Virginia in 1935. Mrs. Thompson and her mother worked at a property called “Linden” (on Farnham Creek in Richmond County) and had vivid memories of the Civil War. Mrs. Thompson’s recollections provide a picture of the varied work done by slaves on Westmoreland County plantations in the decades prior to the Civil War:

Q. What were you doing [for work]?

A. What do I do? Working like people do now these days. Some doing one thing, some do another. . . . Some working in the fields and some. . . at the kitchen working. . . . That ‘s the way it was. That you was doing one day, and. . . the other doing one thing and you do another. All didn’t work together.

The principal crops grown at Linden were corn and wheat, but the slaves worked in the vegetable gardens as well. Mrs. Thompson remembered that there was some machinery in use, but a great deal of the work was done by hand. Their owner used the corn and wheat for subsistence, and she didn’t remember it being sold. They also grew beans in the rows between the corn, and melons as well (Hall et al. 2002)

Maria Johnson was the grandmother of Dorothy Payne of Lerty, the name given to the cross-road at Stratford Road and the “King’s Highway” (Route 3) just above Stratford Hall. Mrs. Johnson was a slave on a plantation near Stratford possibly owned by the Rust family.³⁶ Maria Johnson recalled that slaves met in great secret religious gatherings, in barns or cabins in the middle of the woods. Slaves sent word to one another of these meetings in secret, and tried to avoid detection by turning a large iron kettle upside down in the entrance to deaden the sound (Norris 1983:532). Wes Payne’s father Bill was a famous musician, and other slaves would travel to Stratford to dance and listen to him play.

³⁶ Interestingly, just across the street from Lerty crossing is “Johnsontown Road,” where the Reverend James Johnson now lives. This property has been in his family for some time, although he knows of no connections to Maria Johnson (see interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007).

Other freed-slave narratives, many collected in *Weevils in the Wheat* and *The Negro in Virginia* (Works Progress Administration 1940), tell of many incidents of cruelty, slave markets, the separation of families, the breeding of children for sale, and the increasingly draconian measures designed to maintain control over the slave population. Mrs. Judith Hayes, who had been enslaved on the Taliaferro Plantation at Sandy Point, recalled that while she was well-treated, she had often heard slaves at the next plantation screaming at night as they were whipped (Norris 1983:529).

For many enslaved people, conditions worsened in the nineteenth century. Many were “hired out” as day labor, and their children were sold or loaned to other planters, and the possibility loomed that their owners could separate them permanently by selling family members away, often further south. Another factor was the opening of western territories after 1802, which drained the settled regions of those laborers who were not enslaved, a factor that militated against manumission, which had been more common in the late eighteenth century. Speculators also purchased large numbers of slaves for sale to the newly organized territories, resulting in the cruel break-up of enslaved families who often never saw their husbands, wives, or children again. Virginia slaves were sold in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. During the period between 1830 and 1860 Virginia exported nearly 300,000 slaves. In 1860, Westmoreland County had a population of 8,282, 3,704 who were enslaved.

Charles C. Jet, who owned the Wakefield and Duck Hall properties in the mid-nineteenth century, appears to have bought and sold slaves with some regularity. Table 4 shows that the number of slaves for whom he was taxed fluctuated between a high of 72 and a low of 18 between the year 1839 and 1845 (Westmoreland County n.d.b, 1843-1847).

Mary Crump, the grandmother of Carrie Smith of Hague, recalled this period, and the fear that enslaved peoples experienced when the slavers made their rounds. In Cople Parish, south of Montross, a slaver known as “Booze” kept the slaves he had purchased crowded into his basement until he had acquired enough to make transporting them worthwhile. The slaves were moved to a collection point near Oldhams, and then taken to Richmond, where they were auctioned off, and shipped south and west. Armstead Johnson, born at Aften Farm near Hague, recalled that his father, Thomas, nearly shared this fate. Sold in 1863 to cover his master’s mounting



Figure 8: Matilda Piper Smith, slave of D. Wheelwright family, Westmoreland County.
Courtesy of Westmoreland County Historical Society.

debts, Thomas and a friend managed to escape from a Richmond jail. They traveled back to Westmoreland, visited briefly with their families, and then escaped to the Potomac where a Union patrol boat took them up. They were held in Washington, D.C. as contraband until the war was over. Thomas Johnson had attended school while in the capital, and upon returning to Westmoreland County after the war, became the first pastor of the Potomac Baptist Church, and a leader in the Northern Neck Baptist Association.

Remarkable tales of courage under these conditions have survived. One man, known as Uncle Tom Curry of Tucker Hill, was sold away in Alabama. After the war, he made his way back to Westmoreland, where he lived until 1932. Washington Johnson, grandfather of Zena Thompson of Hague, also returned. Eliza Gaskins of Kinsale recalled that her grandfather William Gaskins, who had been sold away from his wife and children, returned to Westmoreland after the war with a new wife. Formerly enslaved women recalled the experience of being poked and prodded while on the sales

block, sold to cruel owners, and forced to become pregnant, so that their owners might have the benefit of selling their children for a profit.

The Civil War pitted enslaved peoples against their owners. Unsurprisingly, as Union troops approached, many Westmoreland County slaves put themselves under their protection. Union forces also seized slaves as contraband. Late in the war, the Confederacy also established Negro regiments, promising freedom to any who fought. After the war, some of these soldiers returned to Westmoreland County, and their descendants cherish the stories about their bravery and honor.

FREE BLACKS IN WESTMORELAND COUNTY

There were thousands of freed black people in antebellum Virginia, including those who were descended from indentured servants, those who were the children of free mothers, those who were manumitted or emancipated after some outstanding service, those who purchased their own freedom, and those who (rarely) arrived as free people from England or France (Morgan 1998: 490). Manumissions were common among slaveholders in the seventeenth century. As noted above, Thomas Gerard, the father of John Washington I's second and third wives, freed his "slave servants" including his "Negro boy baptized and named Thos. . . for his learning and education (Dorman 1973:68). Similarly, Henry Wickliffe, John Washington II's brother-in-law, provided money to purchase two "Negroes" to replace Hughgo and Jimmy, slaves of his sister's who were to be freed at age twenty-one (Dorman 1973: 88). Just prior to the Revolution, Lord Dunmore offered freedom to blacks who would fight for the British. A number of enslaved Africans from the region volunteered, and of these, many became sailors and pilots in the Bay and on the Potomac (tragically, a number of these were sold back into slavery in the West Indies). Two prominent former slaves from Westmoreland County, Bennett and James McCoy, served on the American side. Bennet McCoy served three years with the 15th Virginia Regiment, and James was a guard. In 1781 he was drafted and served at Yorktown as a bowman. After the war, James McCoy purchased property in Cople District. His descendants still live in the county today. The hundreds of slaves freed by Robert Carter also joined the ranks of the free black population in Westmoreland County.

While free blacks and their descendants were not the property of others, they hardly enjoyed the rights of white residents of the region (Norris 1983:541). Free blacks could not vote, could not preach or hold religious meetings, and could not testify in court against whites. The right of free blacks to own firearms was limited, and their ability to move freely around or out of the county was curtailed. Blacks were tried at the court of Oyer and Terminer, rather than in the courts where other civil and criminal trials were held. Personal property tax rolls for 1850, which include listings for free blacks, suggests that none owned land in Westmoreland County (Westmoreland County n.d.b, 1847-1850).

In the nineteenth century, emancipated slaves were required to leave the country, an additional hardship for those who managed to purchase their freedom, or that of their wives and children. Some free blacks “owned” slaves, instead, although this practice was forbidden after 1832 unless those “slaves” were wives or children. In Westmoreland County, some free blacks took on apprentices or had orphans bound to them, through the auspices of the Overseers of the Poor. Free blacks were required to register with the town clerk and to carry a document certifying their status. Some of the registers of free blacks survive for Westmoreland County and are now located in the Library of Virginia.

In spite of many handicaps, however, many free blacks amassed substantial estates, and were successful farmers, tradesmen and women, and artisans. The largest number of African American watermen in Virginia came from Westmoreland County as well. Other prominent free black families in the region prior to 1861 were the following: Johnson, Newman, Ashton, Henry, Mahoney, Tate, Wilson, Cole, Guillard, Heberd, Collowhaugh, and Lewis. A number of these people are registered in the “1856 List of free Negroes of Westmoreland County” (Harris 1983: Appendix).

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION ON THE NORTHERN NECK

During the Civil War years, the Northern Neck frequently was raided by Union troops foraging for food and supplies and it was traversed by a smuggling route between Richmond and Washington. Vulnerable to attack from both the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, its stores of grain and cured meats were tempting targets for Union and Confederate troops alike. One diarist from the region noted, “the peninsula is especially

well stocked with grain & other products, because of the wants of means for two years to get to markets. Many farmers had sold no crop for two years” (cited in Norris 1983:375).

Confederate troops on furlough, or those who had deserted their units, and fled to the Northern Neck, were seized in Federal raids as well. Captured soldiers were imprisoned at Lookout Prison in Maryland, or at Old Capitol Prison in Washington, DC. A letter written from Linden (the same plantation where Susannah Wright Thompson, mentioned above, was enslaved) conveys something of the anguish of the war years:

There had been rumours of Yankees for some days, and this morning they came in good and earnest. They took our carriage horses, and two others... as many of our sugar cured hams as they wanted... many prisoners and all the horses they could find in the neighborhood... we now see many camp-fires, and what we suppose to be a picket-fire between here and the Rectory... the 8th New York is the regiment with which we are cursed. The officers are polite enough, but are determined to steal everything they fancy
(cited in Norris 1983:375).

St. Peter’s Episcopal Church in Oak Grove, the family church of the Latanes of Wakefield, was occupied by both Union and Confederate troops during the War. Graffiti on the walls includes the names of several regiments including the Northern Neck Riflemen, Lee’s Light Horse, and the Lancaster Calvary.

In the summer of 1864, the 36th U. S. Colored Troops, led by Colonel A. G. Draper, raided an area near GWB. The local reserve, made up mostly of old men and young boys, put up surprising resistance, but Colonel Draper claimed to have killed five rebels.

Depredations by Union forces during the Civil War in Westmoreland County were considerable, and there were no provisions made for the newly emancipated slaves. With no money or prospects, many emancipated slaves became tenants on the former plantations, or worked in the woods or on the waters in the region. Many also sought opportunities elsewhere, including Walter Tate of Zacata, who joined Company M of the 10th Regiment of the U. S. Cavalry. He, like other “Buffalo Soldiers” including Richard Johnson and James Arthur Dean, spent many years out west. Richard Johnson returned to Westmoreland County, and married Judith McCoy, and their son Ervin died in France in World War I. Walter Tate returned to Zacata in 1884, where he married Laura Spates, and made his living as a farmer. He and his wife had ten children, and today their descendents number in the hundreds.

According to the Virginia Census of 1870, there were 3,531 whites and 4,151 African Americans in Westmoreland County. Racial plurality, however, did not mean equal opportunity. For a time African American men were allowed to vote, and to serve on juries. An 1879 notice in the *Northern Neck* read:

The first mixed jury that ever sat upon the jury benches in Westmoreland County was empanelled by his Honor Judge Jones on Monday last. The jury consisted of one-half white and one-half colored, the party being tried being a colored man. We learn that when the jury was first polled, it stood eleven for acquittal and one for conviction, the hard-hearted man being a gentleman of color.

But there were also incidents of intimidation and violence as well. For example, the Freedmen's Bureau Records of 1869 include a complaint, made on behalf of a group of African Americans who, while returning home from church in Montross, were shot at by someone from the upper story of the county clerk's office; no charges were filed (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 1869).

The period of relative egalitarianism immediately following the Civil War gave way to more hardened attitudes towards African Americans in Westmoreland County and elsewhere. Although men of liberal views were appointed to the Freedman's Board, widespread economic distress made the conditions for African Americans in the late nineteenth century especially dire. Former slave Mrs. Susannah Rebecca Wright Thompson, interviewed in 1935, was pressed about the hardships she experienced after emancipation:

Q. Yeah, . . . Well, there seems like there ought to be enough food . . . if everybody works.

A. But you see some have . . . ah, have none, and some have all. That's what does it. Some getting all
(Hall et al. 2002).

Historians and sociologists writing at the beginning of the twentieth century frequently noted that the race relations of the late nineteenth-century South were characterized by a persistence of intimate and personal relationships (e.g., Washington 2005[1909], Thompson 1939, Johnson 1934), and many African Americans sought white sponsors to assist in the purchase of land. The purchase of property was a significant step towards security for African Americans, and was also a means towards establishing other legal rights. The Wilson/Latane family sold land to some African Americans in the community, which will be discussed in more detail below.

African American Churches

Institutions important to the African American community in the region following the Civil War included churches, and schools. Because of the restrictions on public assembly and religious worship prior to the Civil War, African Americans were most welcomed by the Baptist denominations, and some black ministers were allowed to preach and teach. Freedmen also established churches, and it was probably these that formed the basis for the ten churches established in Westmoreland County with largely African American congregations between 1867 and 1872, including Old Monrovia and Macedonia, near Colonial Beach, the Little Zion in Oak Grove, Siloam, Galilee and Salem in Montross, Otomac near Hague, Zion at Tucker Hill, and Jerusalem at Oldhams. These early congregations often worshipped out of doors. As these congregations matured, they became linked to other organizations such as the Odd Fellows, the Household of Ruth, the Moose Lodge, St. Luke Chapter, and the Masons.

African American Schools

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the first free (segregated) schools for African Americans were established in Westmoreland County. These schools were small, and often staffed with a single teacher, who was responsible for instruction in all subjects. Older African American residents of the County recall being asked to cut wood for the stoves used to heat the school, and that the school year was only five months long, to accommodate the spring planting and fall harvesting. Several schools were funded by Julius Rosenwald (founder of Sears-Roebuck), including one near Chandlers Mill Pond in Montross. Another charity, the Slater Fund, also supported Westmoreland County African American schools.

Miss Hattie Gordon of Hague, who was interviewed by Thelma W. Bastow in 1973, said that she had attended school in a log cabin that was used as a school during the week but hosted the Potomac Baptist Church on Sundays. The log cabin reportedly was located where the Potomac School later was built. Miss Gordon stated that her teacher was a white woman named Mrs. Nellie Mayo (Norris 1983:578-579).

One of the Rev. Thomas T. Johnson's sons, Armstead Tasker Johnson, who was largely self-educated, began teaching in 1890. He taught in the public schools for 30 years and then began teaching at the Northern Neck Academy in Richmond County. Mrs. Inez Selden Johnson, whose research was published in a history of Westmoreland County,

transcribed the names of black teachers who taught in local schools. She said that schools were located almost anywhere a landowner was willing to donate or sell land along a road. In time, most schools were located near churches or towns. Schools were perennially short of funds and the financial help of school leagues (organized in 1910) was invaluable. The school leagues sponsored fundraising events and formed committees that offered advice to the local school board. In 1929 a shortage of funds forced black schools to close. Money was obtained from the Rosenwald Fund so that black schools could reopen. Most black schools were open for only seven or eight months a year instead of the eight or nine months that white schools were in session. The situation was blamed upon the black population's paying a lesser amount of school tax. In 1932 the school board purchased a small parcel near Templemans so that a high school for blacks could be built. In 1934 funds were appropriated for the purchase of a school bus for blacks so that students could be transported to Potomac High School. In 1937 the A. T. Johnson High School opened its doors (Norris 1983:580-588).

Other Work

Aside from domestic work and farming, some African Americans were able to find work in the canning factories that were established in Westmoreland County in the late nineteenth century. This work was difficult, and poorly paid, but many found that their wages made it possible for them to support themselves and their families (Figure 9).

A CHANGING ECONOMY

After the Civil War, the loss of enslaved labor and a significant decrease in Virginia's male population of working age led to a shift toward less labor-intensive forms of agriculture. Fewer field crops were produced than before the war and more emphasis was placed upon livestock production. Many farm families were headed by women, whose households consisted of extended families and a variety of non-related people who gathered together for mutual support. Many large farms were subdivided and their acreage was sold. Some farmers turned to sharecropping as a means of meeting their need for labor. Freed slaves and poorer whites often comprised their work force.

In 1870, the Wilson family at Wakefield was representative of these patterns. The household at Wakefield was made up of Wilson, his wife Elizabeth (Betty) Washington Wilson, and his five children, Susan, Henrietta, John, William, and Lawrence. Also living



Figure 9: Oyster shucking in Westmoreland County, late nineteenth century.
Courtesy of Westmoreland County Historical Society.

with them was Mary Washington, a 40-year-old woman, and three children, John, Mary, and Richard Washington (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1870). Mrs. James Latane (Marsham Flemmer) recalled during an interview in 1976 that she had needed “plenty of help” to keep up the eighteen-room house when she and her husband acquired it at the turn of the twentieth century.

For the landed white families who lived at GWB during this period, life in the early twentieth century continued much as it had in the late nineteenth century. The principal farms on the properties destined to become the park were owned and farmed by members of the Latane and Muse families. The Muse family occupied the property partially bordered by Digwood and Longwood swamps, and orchards, and farmlands

surrounded the George Muse house, built in the 1870s. The Latane family remained at Wakefield, on a rise overlooking Pope's Creek surrounded by their extensive farmlands.

No records have been identified that document the fate of the enslaved African Americans at Wakefield after Emancipation, but James Latane, who was born in 1888, recalled that his grandfather J. E. Wilson owned 1400 acres across the main highway (Route 3) from the Pope's Creek property and later "sold that off, mostly to black people that were working for him" (interview with James Latane, 1976). This may be the parcel from which Wilson and his wife Betty, along with other heirs of Lawrence Washington, sold the 230 acres known as the "Blenheim Barren Land" located "along the main country road from Oak Grove to Potomac Mills" to Dennis Johnson in 1890 (Westmoreland County n.d.c 62:387; 68:290). James Latane recalled that this was one of the ways that his grandfather was able to keep working the farm (interview with James Latane, 1976). Lawrence Latane III recalls stories about "Old Dennis" who helped his father on the farm as well (interview with Lawrence Latane, 2007). Wilson and his wife sold another parcel across Route 3 to Ananais Johnson in 1888. Ananais, who was 78 in 1935, claimed to have been born a slave at the Birthplace. He would have been ten years old in 1867. The Wilson/Latane family has employed members of the Johnson family since at least the end of the nineteenth century, and it is possible some of these were former slaves, or their descendants (see below). One of the people Mrs. Marsham Flemmer later employed was Ida Johnson, who may have been related to Dennis or Ananais Johnson discussed above. (For further discussion of the Johnson family, see, Chapter Six.)

By the early twentieth century a relatively large proportion of the Northern Neck region's land was placed in timber production, and sawmills were major employers, especially for African Americans. Reverend James Johnson, interviewed for this project, recalled that his father Lofton Johnson worked at the mills at Oldhams before World War II, where he learned to drive the oxen used to pull the heavy timber (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). Perhaps because railroads never were extended into the eastern part of the Northern Neck, growth and industrial development was inhibited. It was difficult to travel great distances. Northern Neck residents traveled by carriage to Fredericksburg in order to ride the train, or traveled by steamboat from Leedstown or Colonial Beach (interview with James Latane, 1976). During the early modern era, the fishing and shellfish industries have been a major commercial focus in the Northern

Neck region, although no such operations were undertaken on the properties now occupied by the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Truck farming, commercial livestock production, and the recreation, sporting, and tourist industries contribute substantially to the Northern Neck's economy (McCartney 1985).

Little data is available about the social and cultural life of the Northern Neck in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a gap attributable to the lack of interest among historians in this period of economic stagnation, as well as to a dearth of oral history resources, which, with few exceptions, become available only for the period beginning in the late 1920s. The following section makes use of these new sources, which provide significant detail concerning life on the Northern Neck just prior to the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY IN THE 1930s

The rural nature of the county had changed little in the early decades of the twentieth century. Westmoreland had only one incorporated town in 1936, the summer resort of Colonial Beach. At the same time, the total number of farms declined during the decade, correlating with the drop in population. The size of farms also decreased. Nevertheless, land remained largely in the hands of white families. In 1932, for example, whites owned 113,687 acres, and African Americans owned only 28,531 acres (Williams 1936:38-54). Most farms had fewer than 100 acres. A number of families were reduced to sharecropping, and were required to return one-third to two-thirds of their crop to their landlords.

Industries

In 1936, Westmoreland had no railroads but offered "cheap transportation by water." Most of the industry was related to agriculture and timbering, including grist mills, sawmills, and canneries (Williams 1936:44-45). In 1925, there were four canneries in Montross, one in Kinsale, and one each in Oak Grove, Colonial Beach, and Nomini Grove. There were soft drink plants at Montross and Colonial Beach, established because the mineral content of the county's water was believed to promote health. Today, the famous Northern Neck Ginger Ale carries on this tradition (interview with Dwight Storke, 2007). In 1936 Westmoreland County had the largest tomato acreage in Virginia. Also, as in the 1700s, there were still expectations of a profit from the deposits

of Calvert diatomaceous clay along the Rappahannock River. It was used to filter crude oil, and in manufacturing vinyl records and cosmetics (Williams 1936:27).

More than half the people who were employed in Westmoreland County in 1930 worked in agriculture. A smaller percentage of men worked in forestry and fishing, while most African American women worked in domestic service. Other industries in 1936 included the Montross Roller Mills, which produced poultry and stock feeds; the Northern Neck Coca-Cola Bottling company; the Neenah Packing Company, a subsidiary of Sanitary Groceries that produced canned tomatoes; the Yellow Hill Dairy; and Shellfield-on-the-Potomac, a seasonal hotel in a house that had been owned by Washington descendants for 150 years and was opened to guests in 1895 by Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Gouldman.

Fish and Game

The salty Potomac, the fresh water of the Rappahannock, and the creeks and millponds offered excellent sport and commercial fishing. There were several packing houses for salting herring along the Potomac. The waters also abounded in crabs and oysters. According to Williams, “Tonging and dredging for oysters are quite remunerative, and this fact accounts for the high percentage of the county’s population along the coast being engaged in that occupation” (1936:27). People in the county paid the Virginia Commission of Fisheries \$3,904.98 for ground rent and fish, crab, and oyster licenses in 1930-31. Westmoreland was on the Atlantic Flyway and thousands of migrating ducks and geese paused to feed in the creeks and marshes. This attracted “a number of out-of-state sportsmen,” and there were numerous hunting boxes and blinds. Small game such as raccoon and rabbits were trapped for food and fur and provided “many of the population with a slight income” (Williams 1936:28). In the 1930s, the state restocked many preserves with Belgian partridges.

Forests and Swamps

White oak forests abound in White Oak Swamp. Williams noted also that the swamp “was particularly well known during prohibition as the location of many stills,” and was home to a number of African Americans who operated them. Around Christmas, large amounts of holly were shipped. Williams thought that there was

potential profit in wood, especially because the forests were “located conveniently to cheap water transportation” (1936:28).

“As Broke as the Ten Commandments:” The Great Depression and Its Aftermath

Mrs. Virginia Harris Clapp, of Montross, Virginia, was born in 1920, and has vivid memories of this period and the kinds of relationships she and her family had with local African American families. Her father ran a dry goods store and she claimed that “we would have starved to death if the black families didn’t come to the store.” When she returned to run the store, following her father’s illness, she had a policy of offering credit to black families who shopped there, who were “very loyal customers... they would charge \$200.00 at Christmas, and pay it back during the years... It was that kind of a relationship.” Mrs. Clapp recalled

We took bags of clothes to some of the black families; it was always a warm and friendly feeling... I couldn’t understand all this business of slavery—the slaves who were on the farms... if there had been a good relationship before the Civil War, they stayed and lived on the property.

Mrs. Clapp thought this had happened at Wakefield as well.

In her observation, the African Americans carved out a niche. During the Depression, she noted “you could go fishing and keep your family from starving, [there were] white friends who would help... sharing food and clothing.” She recalled:

People were as broke as the Ten Commandments, all struggling together. There were some very deep friendships that evolved between black and white families. We were small and had small farms, [we had] to keep going after the Civil War. It was one hundred years of nothingness down here.

Even for those families with property, including the Washington descendants, employment off the farm was essential, and many recall doing “whatever they could,” to make a living. Mrs. Virginia Clapp worked in Washington DC in the late 1930s and later traveled extensively with her husband, a civil engineer. Ellen Latane Gouldman, who was born in 1918, also had several jobs; after attending William and Mary, she trained as a medical technician, and worked in Richmond, Virginia. During World War II she worked for the selective service, and later supervised the Department of Welfare. The experience of these two women was part of a larger pattern. A researcher who compiled a county profile in 1936 wrote:

During the past decade a movement to leave the county for nearby cities has been noted on the part of the younger population. In the urban

communities employment in governmental departments, shops, and factories provides a constant inducement for rural youth. This is especially true of the young women who find occupations more plentiful and profitable in the city than in the country
(Williams 1936:31)

A SEGREGATED SOCIETY

In spite of the good relationships some blacks and whites shared, until the 1960s, African Americans, who made up more than half the county's population in the early twentieth century, were subject to a variety of discriminatory laws and practices, all of which have been well documented. Schools were segregated, and many African American schools were small and poorly equipped. Most African American women were employed as domestic servants, often seeing their own families only on weekends. Many men worked as farm laborers. In nearly every category, whites were paid more for the same work than were blacks. For example, in 1936, white elementary school teachers earned an annual salary of \$650, while black elementary school teachers earned \$400 (Reid 1936:8-11). Virginia Clapp recalled that male black day laborers could expect to earn \$.50 an hour for picking tomatoes, while white men earned \$1.00 (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007). Little public assistance was available, and blacks often had to depend on the charity of white friends to make ends meet.

A discriminatory poll tax and voter registration process was also enforced as was a property requirement. Some registrars were "very strict" in their interpretation of the law as well. In 1936, 89 percent of all voters in Westmoreland County (just over 3000 people) were white (Westmoreland County 1936; Reid 1936: 54). African Americans experienced much higher infant mortality, and had lower life expectancies. A high percentage of African Americans were illiterate, ranging from 36 % in 1920, to 12% in 1936 (Reid 1936:32). Many African American children did not attend school regularly, and those that did were forced to graduate a year earlier than their white contemporaries. Little transportation for black school children was provided. Nevertheless, education was of central importance to African Americans in Westmoreland County. The first African American high school in the region, the A. T. Johnson High School, was established in 1937. In 1972, A. T. Johnson became the first integrated Junior High School in the county.

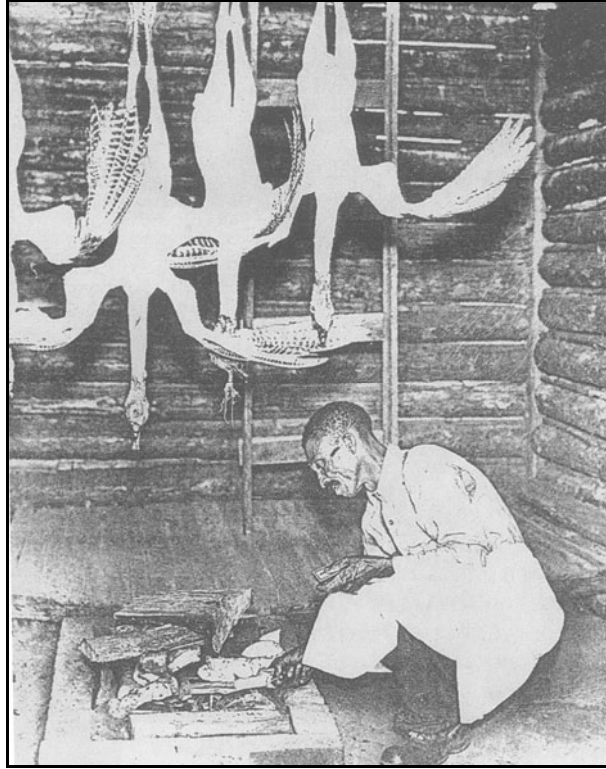


Figure 10: Wesley Payne, Stratford Hall, ca. 1930.

Life of African Americans in Westmoreland County in the Early Twentieth Century

For decades after the Civil War, and into the early twentieth century, some African Americans continued to work on former plantations like Stratford Hall Plantation. Stratford remained in private hands until 1929, when it was entrusted to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association. The Association began a reconstruction effort, including the restoration of some of the slave quarters behind the Mansion. As noted above, as part of their commemorative efforts, the Association employed Wesley Payne, a former Lee family slave, to interpret traditional food production, preservation, and preparation practices (Figure 10). Colonel B. F. Cheatham, a superintendent of the plantation during the 1930s, kept a record of these activities from 1932 to 1944. This record is a valuable glimpse into the kind of work that enslaved Africans did on large plantations, and into the diet of plantation owners and slaves alike.

Farming

Enslaved African Americans, freedmen, and white farm employees working on farms and plantations in Westmoreland County and elsewhere on the Northern Neck

Table 5: Crops Grown at Stratford Hall Plantation, 1930s-1940s

Cabbage	Corn	Pepper	Spinach
Hemp	Gourds	Soy Beans	Sweet Potato
Lespedeza	Melon	Squash	
Irish Potato	Peas	Snap Beans	

Source: Colonel B. F. Cheatham's notes, 1932-1944.

had been engaged in farming practices there that in many ways had not changed since the eighteenth century. Most farmers planted mixed crops, some for domestic consumption, and some for sale. Interviews with African Americans conducted for this project contained significant information about crops planted and harvested, both in their work for other employees, and for their own use. Table 5 lists some of these crops, based on Cheatham's notes.

Older African Americans interviewed for this project recall that much of their time was spent in the onerous activities of farming, livestock management, food preservation, canning, preserving and salting. The most important of these activities were associated with the annual slaughter of hogs, which usually took place in November, when the weather was colder, and there was less chance of meat spoilage. These elderly residents remember that children were given the day off from school to help, which made it seem like a holiday.

Life was divided into seasonal activities, associated with the scheduling of soil preparation, planting and harvesting, and the preservation of vegetables, fruits, and meats. Most meat was salted or smoked, using a time-honored technology documented through archeology, oral history, and eyewitness accounts.

In addition to farming and animal husbandry, elderly people emphasized the importance of wild game, fish, crabs, oysters, and eels to their diet, and the effort to supplement domesticated crops by gathering nuts, berries, and field greens. Medicinal plants were also collected, processed and preserved. Another major effort involved collecting fuel, usually wood, an activity that required year-round effort. Some African Americans also supplemented their incomes by selling wood, and many worked full or part-time in local sawmills. In addition to these ongoing tasks that characterized the yearly work-cycle, daily activities including domestic work, and the ridding of houses,

barns, and fields of vermin. Table 6 summarizes some of these activities, based on information collected in oral history interviews conducted in 2006.

Housing

Scholars who have studied the material life of emancipated African Americans on the Northern Neck have observed that housing remained the same as it had been prior to the Civil War. In fact, many families continued to live in the same houses that they had occupied prior to 1865. These buildings tended to be one-room dwellings with either a brick or wattle and daub hearth and chimney. Interior furnishings conformed to the kinds of materials that historical archeologists have recovered from sites occupied from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. For example, earthfast dwellings were often constructed around earth-set posts on eight-to-ten-foot centers. They were either one- or two-roomed dwellings, with dirt floors and few windows and a single door. Other slave dwellings were built on pier-supported sills, although, because these leave little archeological trace, their presence is known principally by the location of sub-floor pits, and brick or wattle and daub chimney bases. It is thought that some of these pits were hidden below furniture, rugs, or flooring, and served as places for enslaved African Americans to conceal personal property. Patricia Samford has recently argued that these pits sometimes served as “altars” for African-based ancestor worship (Samford 2007). After the Civil War, the function that these pits served is less well documented, but presumably they remained useful for the protection of property, or for storing foodstuffs (Samford 2007).

Two forms, those buildings that had brick hearths and chimneys and those that had wattle and daub chimneys, characterized African American housing in the nineteenth century. These chimneys, often the only features of these structures to survive, in profile cant outwards, suggesting that they were deliberately constructed in that manner in order to make it possible to knock them away from the house in case of a chimney fire (Ryder 1993).

Enslaved Africans “benefited” from the fact that plantation owners and other slave holders invested in improved housing based on the prescriptive literature of the day, the views of “scientific” farmers who argued that improving the quality of life of the enslaved workers would increase productivity and had the added benefit of increasing the planter’s ability to surveil their workforce (McKee 1992). Presumably it was this

Table 6: Traditional Activities of African Americans in Westmoreland County from Interviews, 2006

Activities	Descriptions
Farming	<p>Crops</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparing soil, planting, weeding, harvesting kitchen gardens and commercial crops, including tomatoes, which they canned for home use and for sale. • Kitchen gardens: tomatoes, squash, melons, chilies and other peppers were the principal crops. In order to get an early start, “hot beds” were constructed and stocked. • Corn was shelled and stored.
Animal Husbandry and Farm Labor	<p>Pigs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeding, maintenance; slaughtering pigs annually. Curing pork with salt and brown sugar. <p>Chickens</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feed, collect eggs, slaughter as needed. <p>Horses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance and exercise, hauling fodder and wood. <p>Cattle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few African Americans could afford to maintain significant herds of cattle, but many had a milk cow. A few worked with draft oxen, which were often used to haul timber.
Hunting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turkeys were captured and kept alive until they were fattened, and their flesh “sweetened” by feeding them corn. They were then killed, and their meat smoked. • Rabbits were trapped as well as other small mammals. • Vermin, such as foxes, were trapped. Snakes, which endangered the fowl were hunted and killed. • On occasion, dogs harassing sheep were hunted and killed.
Canning and Preserving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomatoes were canned for home use, distributed among the neighbors and some were sold to canning factories. • Fruit, especially peaches, were canned, jams, jellies and sauces were bottled and jarred. • Beans, okra, onions and cucumbers were pickled and canned. • Meats, including bacon and sausage, were smoked and preserved. • Smoking required quantities of sand, which were hauled from local beaches.
Fishing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Herring harvested and cured with salt and molasses . • Crab, oysters, and eels collected in season.
Logging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All logging activities took place on family-owned land. • Wood was cut, hauled, chopped and stacked. • In addition to its use for heating and cooking, wood was important for smoking meat.
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Candles, especially bayberry candles were dipped and stored. • Clothes were sewn and repaired. • Meals prepared, regular cleaning and house maintenance.

“improved” housing that survived until the early twentieth century. Such dwellings have been extensively documented in the photographic archives of the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Virginia. These photographs suggest that few if any ancillary structures such as privies, storage sheds, animal pens, or smoke houses were part of the enslaved workers “quarters.” Surviving tenant farmers’ homesteads from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sometimes had outbuildings, including barns, sheds and privies. Near GWB, Blenheim had such structures, but there is little information about the housing of other black residents or tenant farmers on or near the property.

Domestic Life

As in many parts of the South economic opportunities for African Americans in the post-war period and in the first half of the twentieth century were very limited. Families relied on one another, and shared food and labor. Unmarried siblings, elderly parents, and other dependents lived together with working couples and their children, and all pitched in. Since dwellings were small and dark, much work took place outside. Evidence from oral histories, photographs, and archeology suggest that these activities included cooking, laundry, and equipment repair. Poultry ran free in the yards, and domestic animals, cats and dogs, were ubiquitous and served many useful purposes. Poultry provided eggs and fresh meat, cats kept the vermin down, and dogs were used for hunting and for security. Inadequate schooling opportunities meant that children were always present, and most were expected to help around the house, or with outdoor chores, and older children were expected to supervise younger children while their parents were working.

Games and music were part of daily life, occupants shared food and drink, and a welcome rest in the cool shade was highly valued. Interviews suggest that family ties were strong, that siblings and their families lived near to one another, often sharing ownership in a parcel of land (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007).

Women made their own clothing and most of their children’s. Aside from cloth, thread, and needles, shoes were the most common store-bought clothing items African Americans purchased. Mrs. Virginia Clapp recalled selling shoes in her family’s store in the late summer, before children started school. She thought that many children went barefoot during the summer (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007). Prior to the Civil War, there is ample evidence that slaves and freedmen purchased small ornamental items

from local stores, including rings, brooches, bracelets, hair ornaments, buttons, and buckles (e.g., www.StratfordHall.org).

Representative of the experience of African Americans who grew up in the period between Reconstruction and the Civil Rights era in Westmoreland County are the lives of Reverend and Mrs. James Johnson. Reverend Johnson was born in 1935 in Westmoreland County. Reverend Johnson is the minister at Lyell's Chapel Baptist Church, but attended Shiloh Baptist church opposite Stratford Hall in his youth. His wife, Naomi Johnson, who was born in 1936, lived at Erica, in Westmoreland County. Her family owned oyster rights, and some of her siblings still oyster and crab, although not full-time. Mrs. James Johnson recalled attending the A. T. Johnson School. She went on to a twenty-five-year career as a teacher's aide in Oak Grove (interview with Mrs. James Johnson, 2007). Mrs. Johnson recalled fishing for herring with nets at Westmoreland State Park, and noted that they fished with nets at Horner's beach (from boats); some of Mrs. Johnson's cousins worked in commercial fishing at Reedville.

African American Religious life

Both Reverend and Mrs. Johnson emphasized the importance of churches in African American life in the county, with all-day Sunday services, prayer meetings, revivals, "morning star" meetings and picnics making up a large part of their social activity. Several of the churches, including Shiloh Baptist Church and Little Zion Baptist Church, joined together for social occasions and revivals. Reverend Johnson helped his father and grandfather, who have owned property on Johnstontown Road for many years, to farm. His father and grandfather grew tomatoes. Reverend James Johnson also recalls numerous picnics, religious revivals, and baptisms which took place on park property, organized by the African American Baptist churches in the area. In particular, the Little Zion Baptist Church at Oak Grove and the Shiloh Baptist Church at Stratford often sponsored such gatherings (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). Mr. Johnson does not recall any knowledge of the African American graveyards at the park, but Lawrence Latane III recalls a burial at the "Pea Hill" cemetery in his youth (telephone interview, 2007). Dwight Storke, park ranger and later Superintendent at GWB, helped make arrangements for the occasional immersion baptisms that continued to take place near the present-day picnic grounds, and made sure that other visitors did not disturb the ceremonies (interview with Dwight Storke, 2007).

Additional interviews with African American residents of Westmoreland County included significant information about religious practices at mid-century. People attended two services on Sundays, and other times during the week as well. One woman recalled that as a girl, “they didn’t ask you if you wanted to go to church, you just went.” Now, she adds, children don’t seem as interested in church. Those interviewed recall elaborate mourning customs, wreaths placed on doors, and the wearing of black armbands.

Changing Attitudes

Many African American soldiers from the Northern Neck served in World War II and, when they returned home, they had changed. In his fictionalized biography of Alvin Wormley, entitled *Alvin*, the real son of a poor Northern Neck black sharecropper, John Harding, depicted this change of attitude. When Wormley was asked by Corporal Yamaki, a Japanese American whose family was interned in Washington State, how it felt to be a colored American, given how they, as a people, were treated, Wormley said, “I’ve never really given it much thought. I just took things like they were. My parents were born free, but my grandparents were slaves. I figured I was better off than they were.” Later, after the war ended, Wormley said,

You know, one of the hardest things for me when I came home was to face the Jim Crow Laws. In Italy, and later in France and Germany, we were treated just like white boys. It was hard to come back home and ride in the back of the bus
(Harding 2003:62, 80).

Harding’s relationship with Wormley was probably not an uncommon one between blacks and whites in the Northern Neck. Wormley had been a yardman for Harding’s parents since Harding was four or five. Born in Northumberland County, Harding’s father worked with the Marine Resource Commission, and, later, as a captain on menhaden boats. Although separated by race and material circumstances, they shared many experiences of life in the Northern Neck. Both of them had worked on farms, in tomato cannery factories, and in the menhaden boats. They lived “parallel” lives in a pattern that is distinctly rural southern. There is understanding based upon shared experiences, closeness, yet always a racialized difference. In the book, *Alvin*, these similarities and differences are sensitively described. It is clear that the rules of conduct between the races were so internalized, such cultural givens, that they provoked no

commentary, even when they violated otherwise established norms, such as the rural custom of reciprocity (for further discussion of this issue, see Chapters Six and Seven).

When Wormley was asked by Harding what he thought we had gotten out of World War II, Alvin replied: “[W]e stopped Hitler and the Japs, but it didn’t do us black people much good as far as far the Jim Crow laws at home. Our preacher was always talking about becoming full citizens.” Contemporary African American society on the Northern Neck continues to be enriched by religious practice that includes a strong measure of political commentary and activism, along with an emphasis on education. Reverend James Johnson recounted, for example, that he was very politically active in the years leading up to school desegregation (interview, 2007). In recent years, African American leaders have called for a greater “voice” in the way their history has been told. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WAKEFIELD ASSOCIATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARK

A topic of considerable interest to contemporary historians of the post-Civil War era is the growth and influence of memorial societies, many of them led by white, Southern women. Grief, concern about the economic privations brought about by the war, strong regional pride, and renewed interest in the contributions of eighteenth-century Southern leaders to American history led to the establishment of many societies that celebrated their achievements (Janney 2006). Of these societies, the most prominent were those devoted to preserving and interpreting the life and career of the first president of the United States, George Washington. On the Northern Neck, the location of George Washington’s Birthplace, one such society was the Wakefield Association, which came to hold a central place in the history of memorialization, and in the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument.

As residents of the Northern Neck, white and black, struggled to survive, continuing old practices and responding creatively to changing circumstances, the area’s history continued to be a source of interest and pride among them. The Wakefield Association, founded by Josephine Wheelright Rust to commemorate George Washington’s birthplace, was an important part of this movement, and it attracted many prominent local residents, who took part in the fund-raising and commemorative

activities the members organized. Although Mrs. Virginia Clapp was busy with her family and with making a living, she remembers when Mr. Rockefeller arrived, and when they moved the monument in preparation for building the Memorial House. She recalls that they had more fun when the log house opened since, according to Mrs. Clapp, a restaurant was “rare” then. She and her friends also enjoyed the new picnic area, where they could have “more civilized picnics.” She recalls that many locals came, but there were also visitors from greater distances, for example she recalls photographers from the Filson Club, of Louisville, Kentucky (interview with Virginia Clapp 2007).

Local people from Westmoreland County also remember visiting the Birthplace in the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs. Virginia Clapp recalls going on picnics at Wakefield when she was a child, near the monument and pine tree grove near where the memorial house now stands. According to Mrs. Clapp “everyone went there—church picnics, Methodist churches. . . there were clumps of bushes and men went to the right and ladies went to the left and put on bathing suits, and had their picnics (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007).

Mr. Dal Mallory grew up near the park, and is a lifelong friend of the Latanes. He was also a long-time member of the Wakefield Association. He has lived near the birthplace all his life and spent a great deal of time there during his childhood. Mr. Mallory learned much of the Washington family history from Julia Washington Muse, a friend of his mother’s who was also the Park’s first postmistress. He recalled having her take him to the Washington family cemetery and “quiz” him on the lives of the people buried there. He said she spoke of them as if she knew them well. He remembers the African American families that lived at the end of Route 204 (telephone interview with Dal Mallory, 2007).

The general picture provided here of life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Westmoreland County is meant to form a backdrop for a detailed discussion of the groups most closely associated with George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The following chapters describe these groups, and detail their ties to the park.

CHAPTER SIX: PARK NEIGHBORS AND TRADITIONAL GROUPS

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is unique in the following ways:

1. George Washington Birthplace National Monument occupies properties which include those that were owned by Washington family descendants (that is, the descendants of Augustine Washington, including the Wilson and Latane families) since the seventeenth century. Washington family descendants have been farming the lands surrounding the park for nearly 350 years. The Muse family, who sold some of their properties to the park, and are still park neighbors, have also farmed and fished at the Birthplace for nearly three hundred fifty years as well. The park's present character is also the product of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, an important example of the kind of ladies' memorial associations that sprung up in the South after the Civil War, and later, during the "Colonial Revival" period of the 1920s and 1930s. Park neighbors literally helped to build the park. Washington memorialists, park neighbors and Washington family descendants (these categories sometimes overlap) thus have felt a sense of "ownership" of the park and take a strong interest in its management. The relationship between the park and its neighbors, especially the Washington family descendants, although less active today, has helped to give the park its unique character.
2. George Washington Birthplace National Monument is tied to the memorialization of George Washington, a "movement" and a tradition which itself is nearly two centuries old. The celebration of George Washington's life and family links the park to other Washington memorials such as Mount Vernon and Ferry Farm, even to Sulgrave Manor in England, and to commemorative and volunteer organizers with national and international significance. The George Washington connection also ties George

Washington Birthplace National Monument to groups who claim descent from the Washingtons through their slaves and indentured servants (see Chapter Seven).

3. George Washington Birthplace National Monument is linked to several other historic sites in the county, including Stratford Hall, the home of the prominent Lee family, and James Monroe's Birthplace. Many members of the Wakefield Memorial Association (now the George Washington Birthplace National Memorial Association) and other civic organizations in Westmoreland County have ties to all these sites. The volunteer work and social and educational events that have taken place at these sites have brought prominent county families together, extending the network to other established families throughout the region through the celebration of heritage, and of regional history and values. This network of historic sites and the people who support them has played a significant role in the tourism economy in the region since the late nineteenth century.

PARK NEIGHBORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHARACTER OF THE PARK

One of the most striking aspects of George Washington Birthplace National Monument is its continuity as a working farm, set in a rich riverine and estuarine environment. Park neighbors, including the Latanes, Muses, and Horners, have farmed, fished, and hunted on the park properties for generations, and it is the buildings they have constructed, the fields they have maintained, the forests they have managed, and the roads, bridges, and footpaths they have constructed, that give the park much of its unique character.

The Latane and Muse farms, adjacent to the park, have always added to the historic ambiance of the park environs. The continued rural quality of the park is due largely to their farming practices and to their strong interest in the management of the park properties. This relationship dates to the establishment of the park. In the 1930s, for example, many people were impressed with the location of the park adjacent to the Latane farm. Director Hough wrote that:

[M]any is the compliment we have received on the sheep, cattle, and horses (which are not ours, but belong to the Latane Brothers); seen on the Latane farm before entering the monument (Hough 1933).

Furthermore, significant places on or near their properties, including cemeteries, picnic areas, riding trails, gardens, and fishing sites continue to be part of their unique landscape. Interviews with members of these families help to illuminate the many-layered and personalized landscape into which the Park has been incorporated. The following sections, which summarize the family histories of the Latane, Muse, and Horner families, those with the strongest links to the park, and its closest neighbors, underline their crucial contributions to the park presently and in the past.

THE LATANE FAMILY

The Latane family, descendants of the Washington family through Augustine Washington, has deep ties to the region through the Latane side as well. Louis Latane first arrived on the Northern Neck in 1672. Subsequent descendants have included William Catesby Latane (b. 1787), and Reverend William Catesby Latane (b. 1847) (Figure 11). Reverend Latane was the rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Oak Grove. His sons, James and William Latane, conveyed seventy acres (including Duck Hall) to the Wakefield Association on January 26, 1924.

James Latane I

Mr. James Latane, the son of Susan Wilson Latane and Reverend William Latane, was born in 1888. James Latane and his wife Marsham Flemmer Latane of Ingleside plantation were interviewed October 5, 1976 by researcher Tom Darnton. Mr. Latane's grandmother was Betty Washington Wilson. Mrs. Latane was born at Ingleside, and was an original member of the Wakefield Association. Mr. Latane believed that it was his grandfather, John E. Wilson, who purchased 1400 acres in 1846, and turned it over to his sons, one of whom was James's grandfather. James grew up in the large house on the property, known as Wakefield, which he was told was built in the 1840s. In Mr. Latane's youth, long-distance travel was accomplished by steamboat or train. The steamboats

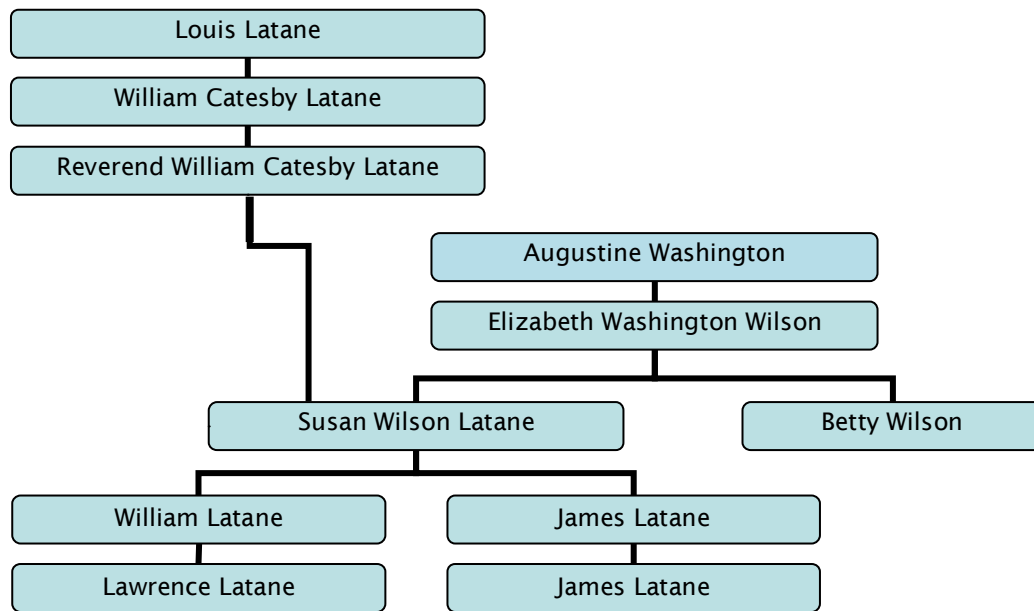


Figure 11: Schematic genealogy of the Wilson/Latane family.

docked at Leedstown three times a week, and from there one could travel to Baltimore and Norfolk. It was also possible to take the train from Fredericksburg, although it took seven hours by carriage to get to the train station. He did not recall a steamboat at Pope's Creek in his day, as it was too shallow by then to permit convenient access.

James and William Latane farmed the land along the Potomac, as well as Blenheim land and Haywood in the 1930s. Mr. James Latane recalled that the pasture where the Log House is now was used for sheep grazing. Before 1880, his father had sold the right of way and 12 acres for the monument. He recalled the arrival of the monument. It was brought by steam boat to a pier erected in Pope's Creek (the supports are still visible at low tide). He was paid \$25.00 a month to maintain the monument, and to report any supplies or repairs needed. Mr. James Latane remembered the building of the log house, the memorial house, and the two residences, as well as the later bus parking area. Mrs. Marsham Latane was one of the original costumed volunteers at the park. Another part of the Latane property was sold to the Wakefield National Memorial Association in 1929. The Latanes have on occasion cooperated with the park in protecting the approaches to the property. In 1930 a park supervisor wrote that "[t]he Latanes seem quite anxious to cooperate with the Memorial Association and the Park

Service in holding the one hundred foot right of way until such time as it can be taken over as the permanent property of the monument” (Bruggeman 2007: 31).

The Latanes also provided substantial labor and other assistance to the park. Both James Latane and Goodwin Muse spoke of their fathers hauling gravel from the banks of the Potomac River on the northern edge of the Muse property, for use in the realignment of Bridges’ Creek road between the monument circle and the burial ground (see interviews with Lawrence Latane and Goodwin Muse). The Latanes sold the right of way to the Park, with the condition that there would be fencing on either side to protect their livestock. Lawrence and Marsham Latane were also consulted concerning the location of the original Washington house (e.g., NPS records box 16 of 25, GWB file no.112).

Ellen Latane Gouldman

Ellen Latane Gouldman was born at modern Wakefield and is the sister of James Latane II (now deceased). She attended the College of William and Mary, graduating in the 1930s, and worked for a time as a medical technician in Richmond, Virginia. Upon her marriage, she and her husband built a “log cabin” on the spit of land opposite the modern park visitor center. Mrs. Gouldman is a long-time member of the Wakefield National Memorial Association (now the George Washington’s Birthplace National Memorial Association). She has held many jobs, including Supervisor of the Westmoreland County Department of Welfare. Her daughter Janet Gouldman worked at the park as a summer employee. Mrs. Gouldman knew many of the park staff very well. She called Carl Flemmer and Phil Griffith “charming Southern gentlemen.” She and Superintendent Gibbs were close friends. She knew of Mrs. Rust, the founder of the Wakefield Association, and Mrs. Rust’s sister, Ms. Wheelright, was a friend of her grandmother’s. Mrs. Gouldman recalls the construction of the Memorial House, and the brick making using local clay. She worked as a costumed volunteer at the park, and volunteered for the George Washington’s Birthday celebration, serving cider and gingerbread.

James Latane III

Mr. Latane is part of the eleventh generation of Washington descendants, still living in the area, all of whom have been farmers. Mr. Latane’s grandfather, James

Latane, and great-uncle farmed the Wakefield property in the 1930s as a corporation known as Latane Brothers. His grandmother Marsham was very active in the Wakefield Association in the 1930s. Mr. Latane still farms the land around old Wakefield farmhouse, and works for a compliance testing firm as well. Mr. Latane grew up on the farm, and recalled that the park was a “playground” for him, and that one of his playmates was Russell Gibbs, son of the Park’s second superintendent. He recalls the establishment of the living history program, and has watched several park supervisors come and go. At one time, Mr. Latane leased land from the park, which he continued to farm, but found that the park imposed too many restrictions with respect to getting permission to plant and to use pesticides. Mr. Latane, like other park neighbors, hunted on the property. Mr. Latane also points to “generational continuity” in use and ownership of lands adjoining the park. He reported that all the families had “upcoming members” who would take care of the properties. He saw no reason for the park to fear subdivision of these lands “as long as the same families own them.”

The Lawrence Latanes

The eldest Lawrence Latane died in 1960 and was James Latane I’s uncle. Lawrence II was James Latane II’s cousin. Lawrence Latane II, the son of “Larry” Washington, and his wife Maude Ellen lived in a frame house near Blenheim, and later purchased that property from the Johnsons and restored it. Blenheim was built by William Augustine Washington by 1780, after the destruction by fire of the original Washington home (see Chapter Five), and which had been sold away from the family in the early twentieth century. Although not connected to the Park’s activities in any way, Latane’s restoration of Blenheim is another example of the direct interest taken by Washington family descendants in the built environment reflecting the Washington era.

Lawrence Latane III

Lawrence Latane III grew up at Washington’s Birthplace. He presently lives at Blenheim, where he and his wife operate an organic farm. His sister owns another farmhouse nearby. His father spoke to him extensively about Washington family history, and about the history of Wakefield. He has worked as an archeologist, and was once a summer employee of the Southside Corporation, which conducted excavations at

George Washington's Birthplace in the 1970s. He is now a reporter for the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, and has written extensively about the area and its history. He is especially interested in environmental issues, and in the future of the Chesapeake Bay's unique ecology. He writes:

I think many of the Park's qualities are somewhat underappreciated. I don't know of a more peaceful setting than the area around the Memorial House overlooking Pope's Creek and the Potomac River. The park and the creek are amazingly productive places to bird watch and look at wildlife. My wife and I were married in the cedars on Burnt House Point, by the way
(e-mail, April 19, 2007).

Interviews with Latane family members who are also park neighbors document their sense of shared identity, and highlight the intersections between history, memory, and practice among multiple generations. Members of this family draw deeply on their ties to George Washington, and take pride in their continued stewardship of the lands owned and farmed by Augustine Washington and his descendants. The way in which George Washington's history and legacy are interpreted at the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, and by the Wakefield Association (see Chapter Seven), are also deeply significant to this family. The Washington family had many social ties to former park staff as well (see below, and Chapter Seven).

LATANE FAMILY FARMING PRACTICES AND LAND MANAGEMENT

The decline of tobacco farming in the early nineteenth century in Westmoreland County generally, and on the properties on and near the Park, saw the inception of the mixed farming regime, which is still reflected in the land management practices of the Latane family today. With the assistance of enslaved labor, John F. Wilson, the direct ancestor of the modern owners of Wakefield, who had been influenced by theories of "scientific" land management in the early nineteenth century, implemented a series of drainage projects, involving the creation of a network of ditches, making it possible to farm more of the fertile soils on the terraces above the creek and along Digwood Swamp (OCULUS 1999; 2:46). Like other farmers of the region, the Latanes made use of newly-introduced farm machinery and equipment, such as the threshing machine. On the other hand, much of the property that had been under cultivation during the tobacco boom



Figure 12: Blenheim prior to restoration.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

was left fallow, gradually creating mixed secondary forests in some areas and meadow land in others, a landscape similar to what a visitor to the park would see today.

Following the Civil War, and in response to the general economic decline of the region, the Latanes made do with a smaller number of day laborers. In the early twentieth century, they increased use of tractors and other machinery. In addition to farming and livestock management, the Latanes fished and crabbed in the creek and on the river, hunted deer and trapped muskrats, and kept a wary eye out for foxes. The skills needed to farm effectively, including an understanding of soil structure, hydrology, meteorology, plant habits, and crop rotation, were taken for granted in the Latane family, who remain proud of their farming heritage. Mrs. James Latane was also a skilled gardener, with a deep interest in ornamental and heritage gardens, which she created and tended at Wakefield (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

For the white children living on the property in the early twentieth century, life was adventurous and unstructured. Ellen Latane Gouldman recalls riding in the woods around the property, exploring the woods, “guts,” streams, and beaches that are still features of the park and its environs. She told me



Figure 13: Mrs. Ellen Latane Gouldman at Pea Hill Cemetery, 2007.

I can remember riding down all these roads; I loved to ride in the woods. The cousins rode everywhere... when there weren't enough saddles, I rode bareback
(interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

The beach at Haywood was a popular spot, and the children collected shark's teeth and fossils from its eroding banks. Ms. Gouldman recalls hunting for relics at Haywood, and finding bricks from the old house scattered in the fields (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

She and her cousins crabbed and fished off Burnt House point, and collected Indian artifacts on the spit of land where her modern house is located, just opposite the Park Visitor's Center. Mrs. Gouldman knew of two "slave" cemeteries, one at "Pea Hill" near Blenheim³⁷ and one on Wakefield's grounds. She and her cousins believed that the cemetery at Pea Hill was haunted. In the years after the establishment of the Park, she

³⁷ Pea Hill is referenced in George Corbin Washington's 1810 will, which reads in part "beginning at the mouth of Bridge Creek and running the Meanders of the Gut thereof, till it strikes the branch which divides the land I purchased of John Hooe Washington called Indiantown from the great quarter of Wises field thence up that branch to the head thereof where it joins the road leading out of the neck by Blenheim thence along that road till it strikes the line divided Pea hill which I bought of John H. Washington from the ruins where Captain John Peyton now lives..."

and her friends were often visitors at the Memorial House, and worked there occasionally as volunteers (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

THE MUSE FAMILY

The Muse family has lived in Westmoreland County for several centuries. A John Muse leased land from William Augustine Washington in 1787 on the north branch of Pope's Creek, probably between Digwood Swamp and Pope's Creek along the Potomac shore (Hatch 1979:12). This property (which was the same as, or merged with, the properties known as Wickliffe) were in Muse family hands by 1846. Subsequent divisions of the Muse property took place between 1846 and 1932 and resulted in four parcels, owned by R. Muse, Harry C. Muse, E. or F. Muse, and H.G (Goodwin) Muse (Hatch 1979:13). Julia Washington Muse was the first postmaster at the park.

Goodwin Muse, who was born in 1920, was interviewed by park researchers in 1993. Unlike his Latane neighbors, Mr. Muse's father was not a farmer, but made his living on the river. He recalled gathering crab by the bushel, and fishing for perch in Bridges' and Pope's Creek. He and his family also did some oystering with tongs. He recalls duck hunting as well. He noted that the creeks and inlets had changed considerably in his lifetime. He also remembered much more river traffic. According to Mr. Muse, his father "remembered so many sailboats out on the Potomac that you couldn't see to the opposite shore" (interview with Goodwin Muse, 1983).

In Goodwin Muse's day, the family kept a vegetable garden, and made use of an icehouse. His family also kept cattle and hogs. When Mr. Muse was a boy, they farmed with plow and horses, cut the corn by hand, and turned the soil with a spade and pitch fork. For him, the use of tractors and combines had changed farming significantly. He recalled crop rotation, and planting corn, wheat, and barley. They used no pesticides, and very little fertilizer. He noted that the yield was about half of what it now is. He attributes this in part to the success of new hybrids.

When asked about the ditches that traverse the property, he suggested that they must have been dug "during slave times." As evidence, he noted that some of them had 100-year-old trees growing in them. He believed that they were constructed to keep cattle under control, rather than to mark property lines. He felt sure that they were not meant for irrigation, as there was little fresh water available. Members of the Muse family

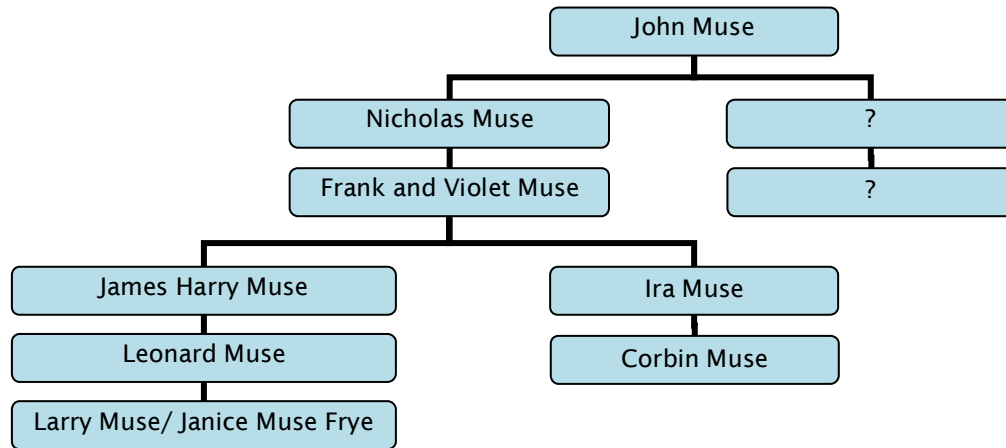


Figure 14: Muse family genealogy.

have sold portions of their land over the years, beginning in the 1940s (interview with unknown researcher, 1986).

Mrs. Neva Wright Muse, the wife of Leonard Muse, was born in 1922. She moved from southwestern Virginia to the Northern Neck upon her marriage and settled at the farm in Leedstown in 1950. She was soon part of the large Muse family on the Northern Neck. She recalled “I was afraid to say anything, because everyone was kin to one another” (interview with Neva Wright Muse by Kathleen Bragdon, July 28, 2007). She also recalls that they often had large family picnics at “Muse’s Neck,” where 30-40 people would attend. She was not involved in the Wakefield Association, as she was busy teaching school, but she and Ellen Latane Gouldman were members of the “homemakers club.” She also recalls stories told by “Daddy” Muse (James Harry Muse) about the monument and about an old ice house on the property.

Larry Muse, Goodwin Muse’s great-nephew and Neva Muse’s son, also recalls that the Muse family and several other local families earned a significant portion of their income from fishing. He estimates that 50% of their livelihood was derived from fishing, crabbing, and gill netting, and that the family kept their boats at Harvey’s point, Muse’s Beach, and at the parcel known as “Aunt Carrol’s.” The watermen he knew also had other interests, however, as the fishing was not always reliable. Larry Muse heard that oystering was also important although he was not aware that anyone in the park area had

oyster beds assigned to them (interview of Larry Muse with Kathleen Bragdon, July 30, 2007).

Larry Muse recalls that immersion baptisms were also held at Muse's Neck, as well as Westmoreland State Park. Mr. Muse's grandfather James Harry Muse was at the time chief deacon at the Oak Grove Baptist Church (formerly part of the Pope's Creek Baptist Church). These baptisms were announced at Church, and any who wished to attend were welcome. The deacon or other presiding official went into the water with the candidate. Afterwards, they both changed into dry clothes (sometimes behind a nearby tree, if no other shelter was available) (interview with Larry Muse, July 28, 2007).

Janet Muse Frye, Larry Muse's sister and a National Park Service employee (at Fredericksburg/Spotsylvania National Park) recalls picnicking on Muse property, but not much about the historic area. Mrs. Frye notes that her grandfather farmed, kept cattle, raised turkeys, and kept a kitchen garden. She believes that her family members were "middling farmers" but that they did not socialize with the Washingtons and the Lees (interview with Kathleen Bragdon, July 28, 2007). She also recalled that her family had particularly strong ties to the water. Her grandfather James Harry Muse was a fisherman, and made a significant percentage of his income selling fish and crabs, as well as providing food for the family. Her brother, Larry Muse confirms this, adding that his grandfather had what he called a "working skiff," a flat-bottomed boat that he used for hauling nets and crabbing. Mr. Muse thinks that Willie Johnson (see below) may have worked for his grandfather on occasion as well (interview with Kathleen Bragdon, July 30, 2007). Janet Muse Frye described the Muse family cemetery on park land (interview with Seth Bruggeman, January 2005). This is an important place to the Muse family, and a well-known local landmark. Janet Muse Frye notes that family reunions, which occur on Muse family land adjacent to the park on a regular basis, always include a visit to the cemetery. She and her brother Larry Muse also noted that their father, grandfather, and uncles took care of the Muse family cemetery (OCULUS 1999). The graveyard thus constitutes an important cultural resource of ongoing significance to the family.

Mrs. Frye worked as a summer interpretive staffer at GWB beginning in 1972, and later worked as a member of the administrative staff. She has had a thirty-year career with the Park Service. She is concerned about shoreline erosion, as she has observed dramatic changes at the Muse "cabin" built by her father Leonard on "Muse's Neck."

She speculates that the original Muse home site has been washed into the river (interview with Kathleen Bragdon, July 28, 2007).

Both Janice Muse Frye and her brother Larry Muse (who inherited the property once occupied by Goodwin Muse) have strong feelings about the importance of the land, and the significant role played by farming in the region's history. Larry Muse continued in the family business of commercial farming. He farmed for the tomato canning industry, while his uncle Goodwin engaged in producing "fresh market" tomatoes. Larry Muse is still a member of a farming cooperative in Colonial Beach (interview with Kathleen Bragdon, July 30, 2007). Mrs. Frye also credits the Park's presence for her interest in history and her choice of career. She notes that in the 1960s and 1970s there were strong social ties between the park staff and park neighbors.

Both Janice Muse Frye and Larry Muse are very interested in their family's history, and maintain ties to a wide network of local and non-local kin. These include William Beale Hamblin (son of James Hamblin and Minnie Bell Muse), who still owns the Muse family Bible, Rob Muse, and the Batailles of Montross, Virginia. Mrs. Muse is currently president of the Muse Family Association.

THE HORNER FAMILY

Mrs. Betty Horner, interviewed for this project, was born in Westmoreland County in 1925. Although she grew up in Washington DC, she returned to the area fifty five years ago, upon her marriage. Mrs. Horner lives on the south side of Pope's Creek, where she and her late husband farmed extensive acres. Her husband also helped develop Horner's beach. She recalled that her husband and his siblings hunted extensively on the property, and fished and crabbed as well. Her husband's family has lived in the area of Pope's Creek since the nineteenth century.

Clay Horner, Mrs. Betty Horner's nephew, was born in 1955, and lives on the original Horner family homestead on Pope's Creek, across the road from Mrs. Horner's property. Mr. Horner spent much of his childhood and adolescence on the park properties as well. His father and uncle owned a parcel next to the Muse farm, since purchased by the Park Service. Mr. Horner helped his father with farm work on the properties there, as well as those on the other side of Pope's Creek where he now lives. Mr. Horner, like his father, is an avid collector of Native American artifacts, and has an

extensive display of these in his living room. He and his father found most of these objects in areas disturbed by plowing. Mr. Horner and his father are also enthusiastic hunters and fishermen, and fished at Horner's Beach and in Pope's Creek. They used, at one time, to sell a certain portion of their crab catch commercially as well. Clay Horner recalls setting traps for animals on the property, including muskrat and beaver (interview with Clay Horner, 2007).

AFRICAN AMERICANS AT GWB: THE JOHNSON FAMILY

George Washington Birthplace National Monument also has and has had a number of African American neighbors, some of whom were property owners. Oral histories of African Americans from elsewhere in the county suggest that these purchases, and the "anchor" provided by land ownership, were very important to African American families in the area (interview with Charles Johnson and Reverend Henry Lee, September 2006). Only vague knowledge survives among the Muse and Latane families about most of the African Americans who lived in the tenant buildings on the properties. Aside from the Latanes, Muses, and Horners, Goodwin Muse remembered only that there used to be "colored people" living nearby, including "Wayne Simon's mother" (interview with unknown researcher, 1986). Mrs. Ellen Gouldman and her cousins, who rode bareback on occasion, often lost their seats and tumbled into the mud, then washed off at a horse trough located in the yard of one of the African American tenants on the property.

Although properties have changed hands recently, the most important cluster of African American park neighbors is located at the entrance to Route 204, and includes the Johnson and Ball families. One long-time resident was Garrison Johnson, who was related to Mary Jesse Johnson Lane. Willie Johnson had purchased some of the Blenheim property, including the field called "Indiantown" from James Latane's father, in the early decades of the twentieth century. Further research remains to be done on the land purchases made by the Johnson family of Washington lands, some of which have been described in Chapter Five.

Dennis Johnson, whose father had purchased property from John Wilson, also worked at Wakefield, and may have helped in the construction of the Memorial House (interview with Ellen Gouldman, 2007).

Many African Americans worked for park landowners. Ellen Latane Gouldman remembered the Johnson family, many of whom worked for her parents and grandparents. When she was a child, she often accompanied her mother to fetch Ida Johnson for work. In those days, Ida Johnson lived on the opposite side of Route 3 about a mile beyond the park entrance. Both “Old” and “Young” Dennis Johnson worked on the Latane farms, and Willie Johnson sometimes helped Harry Muse on his fishing skiff (interview with Larry Muse, July, 2007).

Lawrence Latane III has the following recollections about these African American neighbors:

I . . . only knew Joe Ball, his wife and one of their sons, Harvey, who lived for many years on Rt. 204. I remember back when I was a kid, my mom stopping the car many times to talk to the Balls while they were out in their vegetable garden. The Johnsons were another matter. My family had the deepest respect for them and our lives were entwined in many ways—through the farm, where Dennis Johnson drove tractors for my dad, through our shared connections to the Washington family (us as descendants, them as former slaves, I’m pretty sure), and through the odd relationships that existed between blacks and whites at the time who had so much in common yet operated in such separate spheres. Dennis’s wife Ida, also worked for my mother as a housekeeper, so did Rachel Johnson, the daughter of Minnie and Garrison Johnson, who lived on Route 204 across from the Balls.

My dad used to talk of Dennis’s father, “Old Dennis.” He worked in the woods for a living, cutting railroad ties on the . . . property that either my dad’s grandmother [Sue Wilson Latane] or great grandmother [Betty Washington Wilson] gave or sold to the Johnsons. Dad also hunted raccoons with Willie Johnson, who was Dennis’s brother, I think, or first cousin. Dad also bought part of Blenheim from Willie, who owned a portion of the field called Indiantown across Bridges’ Creek from Wakefield. In Willie’s old age, he started wandering away from home. Once he got lost prompting a full-scale manhunt. When he was found though, he was in the woods hunting with dad (e-mail letter, April 19, 2007, cited with permission).

It is not known if African Americans living near the park know of or visit any of the cemeteries on park properties. Lawrence Latane III remembers that a baby was buried at the Pea Hill cemetery when he was a child (telephone interview, 2007).

What evidence can be garnered about African American perceptions of the park is derived from scattered references in local histories, and from oral history interviews. Reverend James Johnson, for example, noted that the African American churches often

picnicked at the park, and held religious services, including baptisms, there as well. While many members of the Johnson family worked for the Latanes, the Muses, and ultimately for the park itself, they too farmed and hunted on the property. Lawrence Latane recalled:

I looked up to Dennis [Johnson] coming to think of him as a grandfather figure. I can still picture him hunting rabbits on Haywood one day. He carried an old single-shot 12 gauge shotgun with a broken stock that was held together with tightly wound wire and he had two rabbits hanging by their hind legs from his belt. I'd been duck hunting on the farm that same morning and he asked me, "did you kill one?" I think I missed a lot of Faulknerian scenes with him because I was too young.

AFRICAN AMERICANS EMPLOYED AT GWB

Local African American families also played an important role in the Wakefield Association and at the nascent National Monument. Ananais Johnson, another man who purchased property from the Wilsons on the other side of Route 3 on Potomac Mills Road, was a well-known interpreter on the park property. Park Superintendent Hough hired Ananais (who in his interview, the transcript of which cannot be located, claimed to have been a slave on the property) to work in maintenance and to interpret plantation slave life (interview with Ananais Johnson, 1935). Ananais wore a costume, and demonstrated tobacco and cotton farming. This exhibit farm, which also grew corn and peanuts, was a popular attraction (Bruggeman 2007:49).

Hough wrote in 1942 that

Tobacco seed beds were prepared and sown by the venerable Ananias Johnson. The old fellow, now 82 years old, is failing rapidly. It is doubtful that he can carry on alone this year in caring for the tobacco patch. . . it will be a sorry day when he passes. Ananias is the last Wakefield slave alive and is a darkey of the old school who can never be replaced.

Hough went on, seemingly without irony, to remark

Many is the picture that has been snapped of him [Ananias Johnson] by our visitors as he worked in his tobacco patch, and we have had people say that they appreciated him more than anything else we had on the place. This is true of visitors from the deep South especially (Hough 1942).

A film featuring Ananais is said to exist, although no copies have been located.

In part because she worked for Mrs. Latane, Ida Johnson helped in the first costumed interpretations at the Memorial House, providing cooking demonstrations for

park visitors. Later, Lofton Johnson worked at the park as a costumed interpreter, using his special knowledge of oxen to demonstrate farming techniques and maintain the park's planting fields. Reverend James Johnson, Lofton Johnson's son, was born in 1934, and remembers his father's work at George Washington's Birthplace in the 1960s (interview with Reverend James and Naomi Johnson, 2007). Lofton Johnson came by his knowledge of oxen while working at the sawmill in Leedstown as a young man. Lofton Johnson was himself a farmer, and owned extensive property on Johnstontown Road, opposite the road to Stratford Hall (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). Lofton's son Reverend James Johnson proudly displays the well-known photograph of Lofton Johnson with his team of oxen at in front of the Memorial House in his living room (interview with Reverend James Johnson and Mrs. Naomi Johnson, 2007). Lofton Johnson was distantly related to Ida Johnson as well (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007; telephone interview with Charles Johnson, 2007). In addition to his father, Mr. Johnson recalled that members of the Byrd family worked at Wakefield doing carpentry and maintenance. Ida Johnson's granddaughter Yolanda Johnson worked at the park as an interpreter in the 1970s. She and her husband still live locally. Another branch of the Johnson family intermarried with the McDowney family, some of whose members have also worked at the park.

Roberta Samuel, a long-time park staff member who continues to volunteer at the park, knew Mrs. Ida Johnson, and her daughter Susan Johnson Roberts, as well as Yolanda Johnson, Mrs. Ida Johnson's granddaughter, but could not remember any contact between Susan Johnson Roberts and park staff during her tenure there (interview with Roberta Samuel, March 2007). Mrs. Samuel felt that some people were reluctant to "put themselves forward" in this way. Unfortunately, due to illness, Mrs. Roberts could not be interviewed for this study. It is clear however, that GWB was important to the African American community in the Oak Grove area, a community that had ties to other parts of Westmoreland county through church and school. GWB became a place of employment, and the significant role that African Americans of the various branches of the Johnson family played in interpretation at the park from its inception is a source of pride to their descendants. The recommendations that conclude this report (Chapter Eight) include a discussion of the importance of further research on the Johnson family and their connections to George Washington Birthplace National Monument.



Figure 15: Ida Johnson at George Washington Birthplace National Monument.
Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William & Mary.

Roberta Samuel and Lester Harvey, long-time employees at the Park, continue the long tradition of African American work there (Figures 16 and 17). Both have had a variety of responsibilities over the years, and have also encouraged other family members to seek employment at the Park as well. As noted above, Ms. Samuel was actively involved in the African American interpretive program, and has worked to maintain a level of interest in African American topics even as funding for interpretation has been cut. In retirement, she still retains ties to the park, as a volunteer, and as a caterer for events held at the Park.

THE PARK “NEIGHBORHOOD”

George Washington Birthplace National Monument is located within a landscape that, while altered initially by its Native inhabitants, is largely shaped by the agricultural and labor practices of its European settlers beginning in the seventeenth century, and



Figure 16: Lester Harvey at the Memorial House, ca. 1960.
Courtesy of Roberta Samuel.



Figure 17: Roberta Samuel, Latoya Lyburn, Jaylin Washington, Lydia Harvey, and
Veronica Harvey interpreting African American history at GWB.
Courtesy of Roberta Samuel.

retains much of its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century character. From the point of view of park neighbors, especially the Latane, Muse, and Horner families, it was not only the monument or the “historic core” that were significant features of the landscape, but the homes of relatives and friends, the tumble-down tenant housing, cellar holes and “Indian” artifact scatters, the marshes and creeks, that marked the landscape and gave it meaning. This larger context, the park “neighborhood,” while officially segmented into park and non-park lands in the eyes of park staff and visitors, is a connected “whole” to park neighbors. Memories linking all these properties to one another, and of moving around the landscape as children and adults, convey the sense that these disparate properties were and are understood as a landscape and as home.

In the segregated era predating the 1970s, while whites and blacks worked together, they remained separated socially. To each group, however, the presence of the other was significant. African Americans lived and worked on and near Park properties, socialized at Park beaches, and met there with church and school groups. The African American experience of the Park and the Park “neighborhood” is thus very distinct, and more research is needed to understand the role the park played in their lives (see Chapter Eight).

As described in previous chapters, after the destruction by fire of the original house on lands at Pope’s Creek, the Washingtons moved briefly to Blenheim, and then settled at Haywood, the two properties linked by a bridge (long destroyed) and a now-abandoned road. Blenheim is currently occupied by Lawrence Latane III, a Washington family descendant. Haywood, the building that replaced the late eighteenth-century structure that was lost to erosion along the cliffs of the Potomac, is owned by William Tune, the husband of Washington descendant Frances Latane Tune. The home known as Wakefield, probably built ca. 1846 by John E. Wilson, is still occupied by a member of that family, James Latane, whose father also lived there. Wilson’s wife was Elizabeth Washington Wilson, the granddaughter of William Augustine Washington. Her mother was Sarah Tayloe Washington, who was born at Haywood in 1800. Elizabeth Washington Wilson’s daughter Susan married Reverend William Catesby Latane. Elizabeth Washington Wilson’s daughters Betty Wilson and Susan Latane willed the property to William and James Latane in 1921 (OCULUS 1999, 2:46 n.141; interviews with Ellen Gouldman and Dwight Storke, 2007). Another house near Blenheim was the home of Lawrence Latane Jr. and his wife Maude Ellen. As noted above, in the 1970s

Lawrence and Maude Ellen purchased Blenheim, and restored it. These properties, as well as the Muse family home (on property once known as Wickliffe), are the anchors of a landscape that also features an elaborate fence, road and ditch system and numerous other structures, some of them dwellings and others dependencies, tenant houses, storage sheds and outbuildings. Although only the former Muse farmhouse is located on park properties, the park is part of a network that reflects the complex social and economic ties that have existed among the park neighbors for nearly three centuries.

Park neighbors know this land intimately. James Latane, who was born at the modern “Wakefield” in 1888, recalled the ruins of some houses, and had heard of some “old people that worked there.” He recalled the fireplace of the old house, and another ruin by the water tower. Some of the old trees on the property were famed in local lore. James Latane recalled the hackberry tree and fig trees at the park are believed to be very old. Mr. Latane also recalled cherry trees in his youth, since destroyed by disease. When Mr. Latane was a boy, he accompanied his grandfather on buggy rides around the property, sometimes encountering visitors to the monument (interview with Tom Darnton, 1976). He told the interviewer:

My grandfather was wanted to see to the property himself. I went with him in the buggy. Once, we were riding along, and looked up to see a boy sitting above us in a tree, it was such a surprise.

Cemeteries and Memorials at GWB

The Henry Brooks site contains a family cemetery, on a ridge overlooking the wetlands of the southeast branch of Bridges’ Creek, part of the original Anderson/Brooks tract. This burial plot contained a “family vault.” John E. Wilson took steps to protect the Washington Family burial ground when post-Civil War efforts to manage the memorial included plans to erect a granite monument and relocate graves (OCULUS 1999, 1:2-45). Similarly, Dr. Augustine Latane participated in “improvements” made to the burial ground in 1906 by the Colonial Dames. During this time, two of the original family gravestones and the names of 17 other family members were set into the cement on either side of the vault (Bruggeman 2007:8).

This cemetery, and the Muse family cemetery, are the only cemeteries on park property that remain actively visited. Both Goodwin Muse and Lawrence Latane have recollections of marking graves at the Muse family graveyard with locust posts. Goodwin Muse suggested that the family knew of other, unmarked graves that dated back to the

seventeenth century. Lawrence Latane noted that similar posts marked the graves at the slave cemetery at his residence at Blenheim (OCULUS 1999, 1:2-18, n.42).

The Muse family lived at “Wickliffe,” and maintained their own cemetery during the period 1779-1846, although its location, like that of the farmhouse itself, is unclear. The Washington family occupied a new homestead at Haywood by 1784, where a new burial ground was established. John Gray, who purchased Wakefield from George Corbin Washington in 1813, also owned a farm known as “Duck Hall,” next to Dancing Marsh. This property may have had a slave cemetery as well. Park supervisor’s notes from July 1932 note “two old graves were encountered. One skull was taken to the National Museum for classification. . . Dr. Stewart pronounced it that of a colored woman who had been buried at least 100 years.” There is also a plaque erected to the memory of Henry Muse on this property (interview with Janice Muse Frye, 2007).

Mrs. Ellen Latane Gouldman thought she remembered one marked stone at the Pea Hill cemetery, and Mr. Lawrence Latane III recalled a baby’s burial there in his early childhood (interview with Lawrence Latane III, 2007). She also pointed out the location of a nineteenth-century slave cemetery to the northeast of Wakefield on Latane property. To her knowledge, this cemetery is not visited.

PARK NEIGHBORS AS TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED GROUPS

The park’s closest neighbors and the most significant of local landowners are members of three families. One, the Latane family, descendants of Augustine Washington through “Betty” Washington Wilson, occupy much of the property surrounding the park, and members of their family have done so since the seventeenth century. The Muse family has lived at Bridges’ Creek since the seventeenth century. Janet Muse Frye, described above, suggests that although there was some intermarriage between the Washington/Latane family and the extended Muse family, they remained largely separate. Research conducted for this study suggests that this separation may be in part one of economic specialization. The Washington/Latanes were and are primarily farmers, with only a secondary interest in the exploitation of fish, shellfish, and other naturally occurring resources, while the Muse family’s activities are often centered on these non-farm activities. The Horners, who live on the opposite side of Pope’s Creek, are also long-time residents, whose forebears began farming the property there in the

early nineteenth century. For a time, they also owned two parcels adjoining the Muse family property, part of the so-called “Pine Plantation,” since sold to the National Park Service (interview with Clay Horner, 2007). Living in close proximity as they always have, these families know one another intimately. For example, Mr. James Latane, the present occupant of the “modern” Wakefield, knows some of the details of the Muse family history, including the original “patent from the King” (interview with Seth Bruggeman, 2004). Betty Horner lives opposite the park visitor’s center just along Pope’s Creek. She and Ellen Gouldman are good friends, and often joke that they can speak to one another just by calling across Pope’s Creek (interview with Ellen Gouldman and Betty Horner, 2007).

Members of park neighbor families share the same sense of appreciation for their properties and for the rural, agricultural lives they lead. Events surrounding the establishment of the park are also shared memories for all these families. Janice Muse Frye recalled that local families preserve a history of the park in stories told within the community. She mentioned that many families have photographs of the park being built (interview with Seth Bruggeman, 2004).

Neighbors have worked with the park at mutually beneficial tasks, such as when Goodwin Muse agreed to maintain a gravel park road in exchange for use of 22 acres of park farmland (interview with Goodwin Muse, 1983). Most recently, park neighbors cooperated in the 1987 Adjacent Land survey.

At the same time, park neighbors have resisted any efforts to interfere in the management of their lands. Fear among local landowners that the park would attempt to acquire more land surrounding the park, through eminent domain or by imposing restrictive easements, has been a persistent theme in interviews (Seth Bruggeman interviews with Betty Horner, 2005 and James Latane III, 2005). When park officials attempted to interfere with neighbors’ efforts to combat the depredations caused by foxes, members of one family attempted to have the park superintendent replaced (Bruggeman 2007:89).

However, interviews with representatives of these families also make clear that each family acts “on its own” whenever it is deemed necessary, and that the three family groups act together only during those times when their common interests as property owners are threatened. For example, James Latane recalled that during the 1960s when the federal government was considering an expansion of park properties on either side

of Pope's Creek, local landowners banded together to hire a lawyer, and called in local political favors to protect themselves (interview with James Latane III, July 2004). Further questioning reveals, however, that park neighbors are also subdivided along family lines. Informants spoke frequently in terms that suggested separations among them; for example, the Horners socialized with different families than did the Muses and the Latanes (interview with Clay Horner, 2007). The Muse family attends the Oak Grove Baptist Church, while the Latanes are associated with St. Peter's Episcopal Church.

The fission/fusion process described above most resembles the pattern known as "segmentary opposition." The anthropologist Edward Evans-Pritchard was among the first to describe this process. He linked it to the presence of extended lineages or groups who recognized descent from a common ancestor, and stood together against other groups of more distant kin. On the other hand, these distinct, extended lineages will on occasion join together in the case of perceived threats from non-kin, or others defined as "outsiders" (Evans-Pritchard 1940).

Janice Muse Frye, a National Park Service historian, Muse family descendant, and local resident, emphasizes that the historical relationship with Washington was "very important to local families" (interview with Seth Bruggeman, 2005). Most family members know stories about long-dead Washington forebears. For example, James Latane I noted in an interview in 1976 that he had heard stories that his great-great-grandfather Augustine Washington had added to the original acreage at Blenheim and Haywood, and that William Augustine, his son, added additional lands, 12,000 acres at Mattox Creek (interview with James Latane I, 1976). In addition to this shared sense of history and identity, members of the Washington family also fit the other criteria established for a "traditionally associated group." In particular, their genesis long predates the park, and they have lived on the properties now occupied by the park and surrounding it for 350 years.

THE ROLE OF THE PARK IN THE EXPRESSION AND MAINTENANCE OF GROUP IDENTITY

In investigating the park's neighbors, it became important to understand the way in which the park and its programs contributed to their sense of identity. Three

questions motivated oral history interviews with park neighbors and Washington family descendants:

1. How do park neighbors/Washington family descendants make use of park resources at George Washington Birthplace National Monument to further or support a sense of group identity, and how is this identity articulated?
2. In what ways are their identities anchored in the park?
3. How has the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument and subsequent park activity contributed to or affected Washington family/park neighbors' sense of identity and their role in the wider community?

As interviews with Washington family members/park neighbors make clear, the line between park properties and family properties is blurred, if not in fact, then in local practice. Washington family members traverse the same roads, farm the same fields, and fish from the same creeks and inlets as do park visitors and park staff. Washington family members are well aware that lands formerly owned by their families now form part of the park properties, and many know these properties intimately, from childhood experiences, and from stories they were told as children. Washington family descendants bring visitors to the park, and they hold family reunions, parties, and weddings on park property. Their ties to the park are partly the ties of locality, and locality is also central to their sense of identity and shared heritage. Other park initiatives also involved park neighbors. In the 1970s, for example, the park inaugurated a "Volunteers in the Park" program that brought many park neighbors out to help (Bruggeman 2007: 211).

In addition, the history of the park, and the history of George Washington and his descendants as represented at the Park, also affects the way in which members of this group understand their heritage. The Latane and Muse families can be understood to cooperate in preserving the park's appearance and character, and in celebrating its history.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARK NEIGHBORS AND PARK STAFF

One of the immensely fascinating aspects of GWB history is the depth of relationships that have existed between park neighbors and park staff. This is the result of several factors, the principal being the decision made early in the park's history to

have park staff live on site, and to the fact that local residents, many of whom were Washington family descendents, came to be employed by the park. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the complexity of these relationships. Carl Flemmer, an early park ranger, was related to Marsham Flemmer Latane, James Latane I's wife. The Griffiths, who lived on Route 204, were great friends of all park neighbors during their tenure as park ranger and postmistress, respectively. James Latane III recalled:

My grandmother was secretary of the Wakefield Organization, she was active. It went back to the 1930s. The staff was primarily all local people, and they stayed here forever, and they knew everybody, they all worked off the same slate.

Dwight Storke, a Washington family descendant who grew up in Colonial Beach, was a long-time and well-loved park ranger, and later Superintendent (interviews with Betty Horner, Ellen Gouldman, and Virginia Clapp, 2007). He recalled that neighbors were "part of the family" and many of them also worked at the park, such as Janet Gouldman (a Latane family member). Dr. Storke knew and worked with Lawrence Latane II, who with his wife Maude Ellen restored Blenheim, and knows Florence Muse and Ellen Gouldman very well. He regrets that park staff does not live at the park any more, a sentiment echoed by other park neighbors interviewed for this study.

The recently published administrative history of GWB (Bruggeman 2007) details the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, placing it in the context of the origins of the Colonial Revival Movement and the history the National Park system. The Park also played an important role in the social life of park neighbors. The first park supervisors lived on the property, a park historian and a park supervisor married local women, or were themselves from the area, and the park neighbors' children played with the children of the Park staff (interview with James Latane, 1976, and Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007). Mrs. Gouldman recalls socializing with the young men employed at the Park during the summer, who joined her and her brothers to swim and play tennis at Wakefield (interview with Ellen Gouldman, 2007). The park neighbors consistently recall this period as one in which ties between staff and neighbors were especially close, almost "like family." Several of the Latane family members worked at the Park themselves over the years, as volunteers, or as paid staff (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007; interview with Dwight Storke, 2007). The postmistress of the

Monument post office was another neighbor, who lived on the Pope's Creek Road (interview with Ellen Latane Gouldman, 2007).

Most informants recall the period of the 1950s and 1960s as a time of positive relationships between park neighbors and park staff. Lawrence Latane III writes the following about his childhood at Washington's Birthplace:

I have great childhood memories of the park. There was a time when I rode my bicycle down there every day just to hang out at the gatehouse (that was when the park collected an entrance fee from a station at the monument) with whatever ranger was working at the time. I also rode with my mother when I was really small on her daily trips to the post-office. It seemed like she never just picked up the mail and left, but visited with Postmistress Virginia Griffith, her husband Phil. . . ranger Carl Flemmer, and the maintenance workers, including Mac Jackson and Ed Self
(e-mail from Lawrence Latane III, Thursday, April 19, 2007, cited with permission).

In summary, the neighboring families, including the Latanes, Muses and Horners, along with members of the Johnson family, were part of a long-standing network of kin, work, and proximity. The establishment of the park did not so much change this arrangement, but add to it, with park staffers becoming important in the social and work lives of park neighbors. The ethnographic picture presented above is only a survey of what must be a myriad of interconnections and practices. George Washington Birthplace National Monument is a social space of deep historical depth, as well as a place where many people, including park staff and park neighbors, have recently called home, making it unique among national parks.

CHAPTER SEVEN: OTHER GROUPS WITH POTENTIAL TIES TO GWB

The Statement of Work for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment suggested that, in addition to park neighbors, Washington family descendants, and the descendants of their slaves, other groups might have significant historic or contemporary ties to the park. Potential groups included Chesapeake Bay watermen, religious groups, and Native Americans. Of these groups, Native Americans whose ancestors lived near park property appear to be the most closely tied to the history of the region, and retain knowledge of the cultural practices at the park. Native Americans investigated for this study in turn have ties to the larger community of Watermen of Tidewater Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay.

INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND ITS IMPACT

Anthropologists who write about race point to the specific historical conditions that led to the construction of such categories (e.g., Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997) and to the way in which these categories structured social relations (Visweswaran 1998). A large body of contemporary scholarship in anthropology and cultural studies reminds us that although racial categories are “folk categories,” historically situated and inherently fluid, they remain powerful determinants of social behavior, and often serve to maintain social, political, and economic inequities. An example from Virginia, particularly relevant to the present study, was the egregious “Racial Integrity Act” of 1924. This act was championed by Walter Plecker, director of Virginia’s Bureau of Vital Statistics from 1912 to 1946.

The Racial Integrity Act created a bi-racial categorization of the population and required individuals to be registered at birth as either “white” or “colored.” Persons were defined as white if they were Caucasian with no other admixture. All other individuals were defined as “colored.” The act made it a felony, punishable by one year in jail, to file “false” registration of racial identity and in Virginia marriage licenses were not granted between 1924 and 1968 without checking documents of racial classification. While the

African American community was the primary target of the Racial Integrity Act, the legislation was damaging to the Native American community. The bi-racial classification effectively eliminated “American Indian” as a racial or ethnic category and the Virginia Indian descendant communities struggled to maintain a separate identity while at the same time trying not to draw too much attention to themselves or their cultural practices. Thus there is nearly a fifty-year gap in the documentary records and public presentation of Indianness in the Commonwealth of Virginia (Moretti-Langholtz 1998).

Chief Stephen R. Adkins of the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, who testified about the effects of this legislation before the U.S. Senate Indian Affairs Committee in June 2006, recalled that

[This law]... caused my parents to have to travel to Washington DC on February 20, 1935 in order to be married as Indians... Our state, by law, declared there were no Indians in the State in 1924, and if you dared to say differently, you went to jail or worse. That law stayed in effect half of my life.

Although the Racial Integrity Act was finally repealed in 1968, its effects were felt throughout the African American and Native American communities in Virginia, and many remain reluctant to discuss it. The policies enforced by the Racial Integrity Act, along with other kinds of economic segregation and hardship, Jim Crow laws, and the later “total resistance” movement that followed the desegregation of public institutions in Virginia and elsewhere, has had an unsurprisingly “chilling” effect. Researchers working on this project have encountered reticence which is likely to be an artifact of such experiences (Harris-Lacewell 2003).

While the Racial Integrity Act and other “Jim Crow” legislation was overtly (and unconstitutionally) discriminatory, other kinds of social controls were and are more subtle or contradictory. As anthropologist Gerald Sider argues “[d]omination even at its most violent can be permeated with ambiguity, uncertainty, and peculiar mixtures of fantasy and reality” (Sider 1987:3).

This ambiguity is evident in the many ways in which people characterize themselves. For example, in discussing the complexities of “double consciousness” among African Americans, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote perceptively of the “sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (1909). The paternalism that has characterized race relations in Virginia and elsewhere in the past has “naturalized” the

unequal treatment suffered by Native Americans and African Americans, making any resistance to it or criticism of it seem like ingratitude. Such a “double consciousness” emerges in interviews and affects what is and is not said. The Overview and Assessment process can, however, over an extended period, provide a medium for the gradual unfolding of “difficult” history such as this, an effort that will be addressed in the Recommendations for Future Research (Chapter Nine).

THE FEDERAL RECOGNITION ENVIRONMENT

Another factor which complicates research in Native American communities is the current Federal Recognition climate in which Native American identity and authenticity is contested. Presently, there are eight state-recognized tribes in Virginia; Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Chickahominy, Chickahominy (Eastern Division), Nansemond, Rappahannock, Monacan and Upper Mataponi. While the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes have maintained their reservation status since the seventeenth century, the Commonwealth of Virginia granted official state recognition to them and four other tribes in 1983 and added the Nansemond and Monacan tribes in 1986 and 1989, respectively. In addition to these groups there are several other Indian communities who are not state-recognized, but which have long-standing ties to specific localities, and appear in the historical records of the Colony and the Commonwealth. Further complications arise when claimed tribal identities cross state boundaries.

In 1983 the Commonwealth established the Virginia Council on Indians (VCI) a state sanctioned advisory board to the governor and state agencies. Representatives from the state-recognized tribes, along with Indian at-large appointees and members of the House of Delegates, may sit on the VCI on a rotating basis. For a number of years the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes declined to take their seats on the VCI. In the summer of 2007 the Office of the Governor in conjunction with tribal leaders reorganized the structure of the VCI. Since then tribal chiefs, instead of tribal member appointees, represent their respective communities.

At this time, six of the state recognized tribes (all except the two reservation tribes) are seeking Federal Recognition as a group, through legislative action. The legislation, called the Thomasina E. Jordan Indian Tribes of Virginia Federal Recognition Act (H.R.1294), has bi-partisan support. On May 8, 2007, the U. S. House of

Representatives voted unanimously to support the bill. To satisfy the opponents of the legislation, the six tribes have agreed to include an amendment to the legislation that would prohibit them from operating casinos. There have been several hearings on the legislation and the primary argument rests upon the injustice and impact of the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which resulted in de-facto administrative genocide of Virginia Indians, which making it nearly impossible to meet the OFA criteria (see below) as currently written (Moretti-Langholtz 1998).

The OFA, a branch within the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), is responsible for overseeing the process, which, since 1978, has allowed Native American communities to petition for recognition as an American Indian tribe. Several aspects of the Federal Recognition process have bearing on the research presented here. First among these is the importance placed upon continuity of governance and leadership in the OFA criteria . Another criterion for a successful petition is the ability to demonstrate continuity as a recognizable Indian "entity," with an historic attachment to a particular locality, territory, or region. Linking specific communities to specific places gives those communities concreteness, which, while important in contemporary political discourse, may not be demonstrable through surviving historical data. The very act of doing fieldwork in certain communities also gives a kind of recognition to those communities (e.g., recognition by "scholars"), which can cause difficulties with respect to other Indian communities in the region. Further, connection to government entities, such as federal and state parks, is another criterion which OFA uses to determine the eligibility of tribes for Federal Recognition. Thus, field workers must tread very carefully in contacting specific groups or individuals within these groups, and must weigh their claims for historical presence in a given area cautiously. Given the "below the radar" nature of many of these communities in the past 300 years, contemporary claims are sometimes difficult to verify. Thus, the absence of native groups on the Northern Neck today is also testimony to the violence of their history, and their lack of documentable "traditional associations" with GWB does not prove that such associations did not at one time exist.

NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES WITH HISTORIC TIES TO GWB

Although Native people were expelled from the Northern Neck in large numbers by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the contemporary Rappahannock and Patawomeck communities both claim historic ties to the Northern Neck. In order to further investigate their claims, fieldwork was conducted in both communities in the summer of 2006 by Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz. Dr. Moretti-Langholtz also examined the ethnohistorical literature for the Rappahannock and Patawomeck tribes. The following discussion of their recent history and culture is based on this research.

In the early twentieth century, in spite of many hardships, the communities who were ancestral to today's Virginia Indian tribes still flourished, and anthropologists, notably Frank Speck, visited some of those. Speck collected a great deal of ethnographic data in the field, demonstrating much continuity with seventeenth-century descriptions. Obvious changes, including the adoption of English and the loss of Indian languages, and the introduction of non-Indians into communities through intermarriage, also took place. Speck visited the Rappahannock, among those people most likely to have been related to historic inhabitants of the Northern Neck. Speck observed that remnants of the Rappahannock tribe were then living on Potomac Creek in King George County, in the Wicomico area, and scattered through parts of Essex and King and Queen Counties. He also noted that early twentieth century anthropologist James Mooney considered the latter, who were living south of the Rappahannock River, remnants of the Nantaughtacund tribe (Mooney 1907 cited in Speck 1938). Speck surmised that there may have been at least 500 Rappahannock people living in the counties he listed. However, he stated that in 1923 the Rappahannock Indian Association included only 200 people who considered themselves Rappahannock and carried on the traditions of the old tribe. Their leader was Chief George L. Nelson, who took an active role in Indian reconstruction in Virginia. Speck commented that although the Rappahannock Indians were not featured prominently in colonial literature, the Rappahannock unit as constituted in the 1920s showed evidence of slight divergence in custom from the Pamunkey and the Mattaponi. He undertook a special study of the Rappahannock (Speck 1928:280-282).³⁸

³⁸ Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz writes the following concerning Frank Speck's work among the Virginia Indian people: "Speck maintained a nearly fifty year relationship with

THE RAPPAHANNOCKS

Speck suggests that after Bacon's Rebellion the remaining Indian population in the area, largely Rappahannock but possibly including members of other displaced groups from Rappahannock river locations and from the Northern Neck, consolidated into one village. Later, during conflicts with the Susquehannocks, the Rappahannock moved to a fortified village between the Mattaponi and the Rappahannock rivers, three miles northwest of the present town of Tappahannock. In 1682, 4000 acres were set aside there for the use of the Rappahannocks, although only 3,474 acres were allotted to them, most of which were located in the county of Essex, near the mouth of the branch of the Mattaponi River in Upper King and Queen County (Mooney 1907). The contemporary descendant community considers this area to be the location of their spiritual, cultural, and tribal center, and their headquarters and powwow grounds, constructed in the 1990s are located there.

Speck developed a close relationship with Rappahannock community leaders and published a monograph on this community in 1925. Chief G. Anne Richardson recalls:

My dad and granddad spoke about Speck visiting among us. Speck was welcome here and our tribal leaders had a good relationship with him (interview with Chief G. Anne Richardson, April, 2006).

During Speck's fieldwork among the Rappahannock he noted the importance of oral traditions and oral history—especially a story about the near destruction of the Native community by the English colonists and the restoration of the tribe through the survival of three young Rappahannock girls. These girls, oral traditions state, married prominent Englishmen and it is through their children the tribe was restored (1925:45-47). Also highlighted in the monograph were the “surviving” subsistence practices,

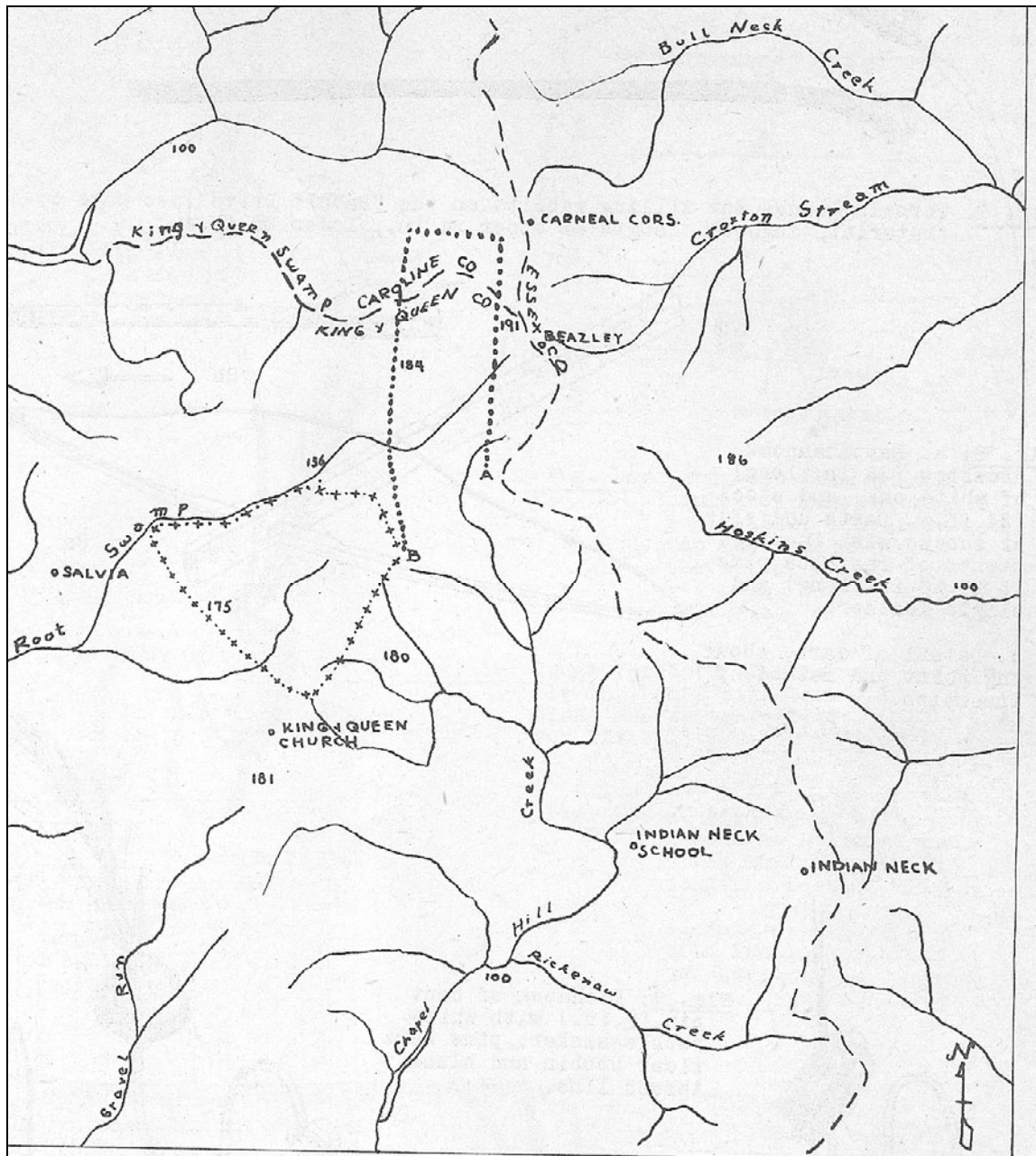
‘selected’ Virginia Indian communities (the Rappahannocks being one of them). In my view Speck's influence cannot be overstated. He encouraged the Powhatan groups to re-establish the Powhatan ‘Confederacy’ and he did what he could to lend support to the Virginia Indians during the era of greatest impact of the Racial Integrity legislation. It is also interesting to note that most of the groups Speck wrote about in his two primary monographs (1928, 1929), currently have state recognition. The Patowomecks are the exception. In point of fact it was Speck's fieldwork among the other Powhatan groups that contributed to their reorganization in the early twentieth century and their success in obtaining state recognition in the 1983-1989 time frame. However, Speck did not visit all the groups identified decades earlier by James Mooney and the impact of this on the other communities has not been fully explored.”

folklore, and crafts. These included several types of baskets (made of white oak, rushes, mulberry fiber, and pinecones), ceramics, and feather work. Speck noted traditional use of natural plant dyes and agricultural practices among the Rappahannock as well, Speck's monograph provides scholars with the most comprehensive picture of any Native community in Virginia during that time period.

In another monograph, based on fieldwork conducted between 1941 and 1943, Speck and his colleagues concentrated on fishing and hunting practices among the Rappahannock (Speck et al. 1946; Map 11), a group whose subsistence they characterized as largely agricultural. According to Speck and his co-authors, the Rappahannocks had preserved "to a degree rather exceptional" their knowledge and use of traditional "taking devices" including traps, weirs, clubs, poisoned arrows, slings, blinds, and calls (Speck et al. 1946:1-15). The real significance of these findings, however, as Speck et al. acknowledged, is the way in which these devices and methods supported the maintenance of a subsistence round that still placed a heavy emphasis on the taking of wild game and fish. They detailed this seasonal economic cycle as follows:

Mid-January to Mid-February	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• preparation of the ground for planting• repair and maintenance of fences, ditches
Mid-February to early March	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• tobacco sown, first corn planted
Mid-March to May first	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• tobacco plants set out, beans planted, fishing season begins
May first to early July	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• corn and beans cultivated
July to September	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• tobacco harvested, corn topped, fodder harvested
September to early October	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• harvest
Mid-October	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• winter wood cut
November	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• farm work, hogs killed
Mid-December to mid-January	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• hunting drives, still hunting

Hunting practices: A working system of "calls" was still operating among the Rappahannocks in 1946, enabling them to communicate easily in the woods. Speck and



Map 11: Rappahannock Reserve, significant landmarks, and hunting routes (marked with crosses and dots)
After Speck et al. 1946.

his co-workers observed this practice in the context of the most important of the annual hunting enterprises, the communal rabbit drive. The Rappahannocks used dogs for this hunt, and took the rabbits with clubs and loops, along with guns. The hunters follow a set route, staying overnight along the way. All spoils were divided at the end of the hunt, or given away to others, and a feast was held to mark the end of the hunt.

Fishing practices: Speck and his team also documented the continuing practice of fishing with poison, hooks and spears, and make use of weirs as well. Speck noted a heavy reliance on fish among Rappahannocks, as well as significant use of water fauna and raccoons. In the sixty years that have passed since Speck did his fieldwork, the Rappahannocks report the loss of some of the practices he described.

During the 350th anniversary celebration of the settlement of Jamestown in 1957, cultural interpreters from the Rappahannock tribe were hired to demonstrate basket making. Subsequently, several members of these families worked for the Jamestown Festival Park for a number of years, living in Williamsburg because of the opportunity for gainful employment (Jamie Ware-Jondreau, personal communication, 2006).

Ethnohistorian Helen C. Rountree, who conducted ethnographic research among Virginia's Native people during the 1970s and 80s, noted that the United Rappahannock Tribe then had about 150 members who were scattered through Essex, Caroline, and King and Queen Counties, plus another 70 or more who lived elsewhere. Some of the Rappahannock men were self-employed but the majority worked in salaried positions. Rountree noted that most of the Rappahannock were living in frame houses and the degree of their modernization depended upon the economic standing of their occupants. The tribe had a chief, assistant chief, and eight or ten councilmen, elected officials who serve three-year terms. There were quarterly tribal council meetings and general tribal council meetings that were called irregularly. During the 1980s the United Rappahannock Tribe had a tribal center located in a house donated by one of its members, although a larger facility was planned. Many Rappahannock attended the Rappahannock Indian Baptist Church. In 1983 the Tri-County Rappahannock tribe was formed by some former members of the Upper Rappahannock community (Rountree 1990:266).

The tribe received state recognition in 1983 and is currently seeking Congressional Federal Recognition in a joint effort with five other Virginia Tribes. In 1998 Chief G. Anne Richardson became the first woman to be elected chief of a Virginia tribe since the 1700s (personal communication, 2007). The contemporary Rappahannock community is vibrant, holds a powwow each October and is committed to cultural revival and the restoration of their rightful place in the Commonwealth's history.

Members of the Rappahannock tribe have also been active in the recent celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Jamestown. In July 2006, a delegation of Rappahannocks traveled to England along with representatives of the eight state-recognized tribes, to promote awareness of Virginia Indian History. The trip included a visit to Gravesend, the supposed burial site of Pocahontas. Chief Richardson led a prayer service at the nearby church. It was, she said, “a deeply spiritual and moving experience” (interview, September 2006).

Chief Richardson also has been an advisor on the William and Mary Werowocomoco project, an archeological and ethnohistorical project focusing on the site of one of Powhatan’s principal villages, most likely the location of his first encounter with Captain John Smith. Chief Richardson is a strong believer that this is an important time for her tribe, and for Virginia Indians generally. She views the excavation at Werowocomoco as a “kind of awakening” of Native voices from the past. She also notes “if this site were dug at any other time in the past, we would not have been part of the process” (October 2006). Chief Richardson is active in local education efforts, and would like to see ties established between the Rappahannocks and GWB (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz , personal communication, March 2008).

THE PATAWOMECKS

The Patawomeck Indians of Virginia, also known historically as the Potomac Indians (although they are of a different background than the Piscataways of Maryland, also sometimes known as Potomacs), have occupied the present-day counties of Stafford and King George in Virginia for centuries. In 1607 the English records include the Patawomeck Tribe as part of the wider Powhatan political organization and note the existence of several villages spaced out along the Potomac River. As with other indigenous groups the name of the tribe and river or location on which they live are related. Known to the English as an ally and trading partner during the 1600s, the Patawomecks are less visible in historical records by the time of the American Revolution. However, the descendants of the tribe continued to live and work in close proximity to the Potomac River. Visits by Frank Speck in the early 1920s, followed by other researchers, as well as interviews with Patawomeck Tribal leaders and their genealogist, for this project, suggest the Potomac descendants remained aware of their

Native ancestry and continued to live in a cohesive community centered around White Oak, Virginia. At the present time the Patawomecks, while lacking formal state recognition, are an organized descendant community of Virginia indigenous people residing in the closest proximity to the George Washington Birthplace National Park.

Overview of Contemporary Patawomeck History

Large gaps in the historical records of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make following the path of Virginia's Algonquian communities, and other communities of native descent, challenging and at times impossible. Much of the difficulty is related to the social stigma associated with being identified as Indian during the Plecker era, as well as to the destruction of historical records at county court houses during the Civil War.

Lacking documentation, and hampered by long-standing traditions of reticence, not all native communities in Virginia have come forward to obtain state recognition. However, in 1995 the Patawomeck community re-organized formally, and began the process of drafting a set of bylaws and a constitution. Since that time the primary Patowomack family lines (the Newtons, Greens and Cookes) have joined with other relatives to form a large and active tribal community in White Oak, Virginia (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication, 2006).

In 1996 Patawomeck Tribal members appeared before the Virginia Council on Indians to submit documents to obtain state recognition. The meeting resulted in a letter from Dr. Helen Rountree outlining the materials needed to obtain a favorable letter from the VCI for recognition. In 1997 the tribal community met again at White Oak to adopt their new constitution. A second meeting was held with the Virginia Council on Indians regarding state recognition. In 1998 the VCI requested more genealogical records from the community, which were provided to the Council. To date the application for state recognition is still pending (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication, 2009).

Patawomeck Cultural Revival³⁹

As a community, the Patawomeck tribe have remained focused on the localized needs and concerns of its membership. As with other Virginia native groups who have

³⁹ The following section is based on fieldwork conducted by Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz in the summer of 2007. Her consultants wished to remain anonymous.

maintained rural farming and fishing lifeways, cultural change has been gradual over several centuries. In the late twentieth-century lifeways and cultural changes among the Patawomeck community has come as a response to encroachment on the land by non-natives and from new residents to Stafford County. The proximity to the expanding cities of Washington DC and Fredericksburg has altered the way in which many of the residents interact with the landscape. Small farms are giving way to subdivisions, watermen compete for access to riverfront property with new upper-class vacation homes, and incoming populations continue to drive property values and tax assessments to unaffordable levels. Residents in new subdivisions which serve as bedroom communities for commuters to the DC metro areas are also critical of the rural fisherman of Stafford County. Thus, the Patawomeck community has been made to feel uncomfortable in the White Oak area (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication, 2007). Chief Robert Green of the Patawomeck Tribe characterizes the dilemma:

The increase in subdivisions and suburban development has created large amounts of runoff. . . fishing has decreased and there are less fish in the Potomac. As development comes we are starting to lose land. . . the value is increasing so much . . .

However, Patawomeck tribal leaders maintain that the response to changes in local demographics, and loss of habitats needed for hunting and fishing, has been a conscious effort to increase public awareness of Patawomeck history and culture. In the past decade the Patawomecks have formalized their political structure, launched an educational program designed to help preserve distinctive Patawomeck craft skills (Figure 18), and mounted public displays which address not only cultural preservation, but of the community's link to the past and its current strength and vitality (Figure 19). Genealogical charts are often part of public displays, an aspect of the public presentation of Indianness which is in sharp contrast to that of other Virginia tribes, particularly the eight state-recognized tribes who guard their genealogical records rather fiercely.

Most importantly we have started relearning some of the old crafts that were being forgotten and the people that knew them were starting to die. We are essentially trying to preserve the Indian heritage for our children, for their children, and their children. . . it's a kind of revitalization (Robert Green, interview, 2006).



Figure 18: Examples of wooden Patawomeck fishing and hunting tackle: (top to bottom) net weaving needle, turkey bone call, net gauge/needle, turkey box call c. 1940. Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

While in most respects the Patawomecks resemble their non-Indian neighbors, “fish taking”, still common among a small group of Patawomeck “watermen” appear to preserve aspects of traditional indigenous knowledge . Frank Speck’s work among descendants of those tribes living in the Powhatan core area includes a description of the fishing needles and nets of the watermen (Speck 1928:359-369). Speck and other researchers found that the Patawomecks and Rappahannocs still made traditional eel pots and other traps in the 1960s and 1970s (Kennedy 1972:60; Russell Skowronek, personal communication, 2009). Presently, Patawomecks use basket-making and net

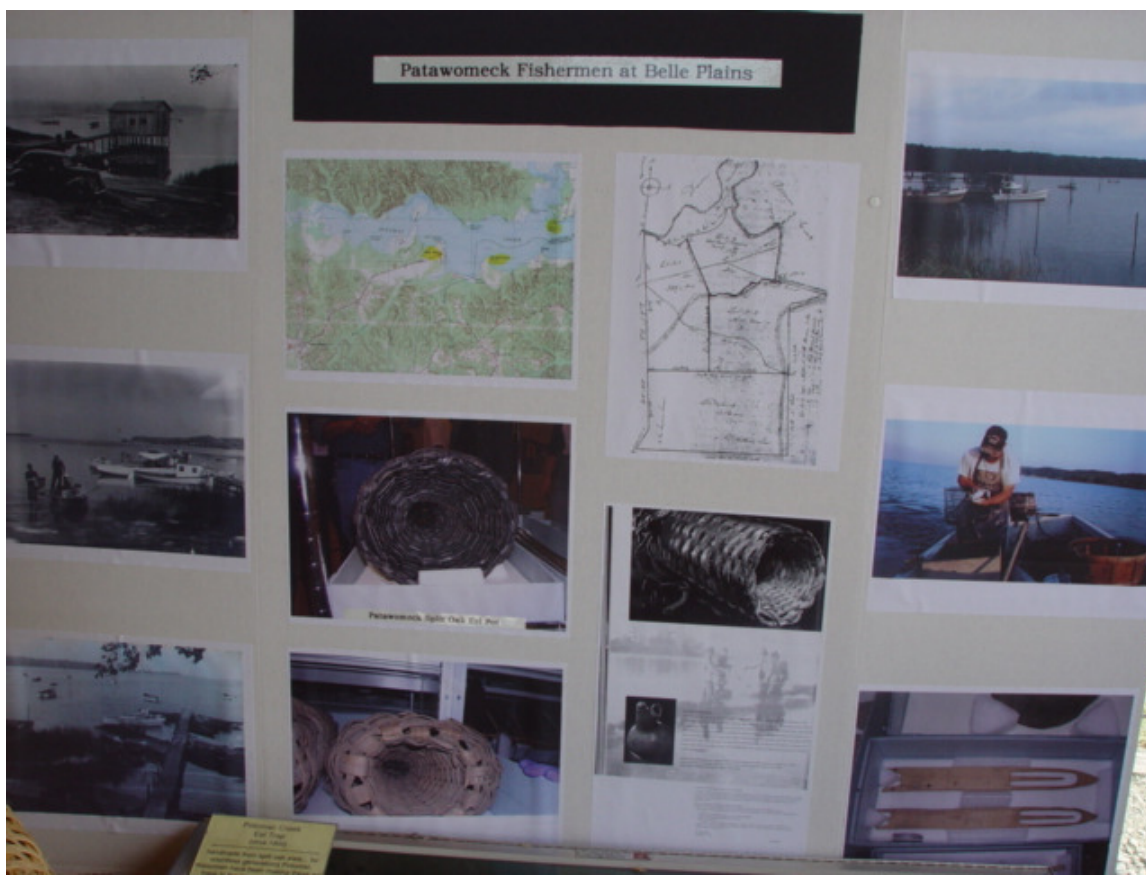


Figure 19: Patawomeck display of fishing materials and activities centered at Belle Plains, Stafford County, Virginia. Images depict both historic materials housed at the Smithsonian Institution and examples of continuity with the contemporary descendant community in 2006.

Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

weaving skills to take fish in traps and with weirs and seines. Few Patawomeck watermen remain in White Oak, Stafford County; estimates range from six to a dozen individuals with commercial fishing licenses. Yet it is said that these men place their fishing nets and eel pots in the exact places that their grandfathers and their grandfathers used.

Patawomeck tribal member Gary Cooke recalled:

We also made a living by fishing—from day one, all the way down to the present. We make a particular eel pot, it's a woven eel pot from spilt oaks. . . made by splitting small oak trees about eight inches in diameter, eights split out from the growth rings and weaving them into pots. They're much like the Nanticoke and Delaware do. We sold those pots for something like fifty cents apiece (in the past) and then we go out and fish (interview, 2006).

According to a Patawomeck elder, several Pamunkey came to him in 1975, requesting to be taught how to create traditional eel pots. These men recognized the

Patawomeck skills and their importance, as they had disappeared among the Pamunkey and other Virginia tribes. (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication, 2007).

The Patawomeck continue to be actively engaged in annual big and small game hunts. Deer and turkey are the primary game animals; most are harvested today with firearms, although there has been an increased interest in archery as of late. This latest development may be attributed as an extension of the revitalization efforts. Some traditional accoutrements seen today among the Patawomeck include wing bone turkey calls and hide bracers.

Traditional turkey box calls are still made by a few elderly men. Unlike the single-boned Pamunkey and Mattaponi turkey calls documented by Speck almost one hundred years ago (1928), Patawomeck wing bone turkey calls are constructed from multiple sections of either the right or left wing (see Figure 18). Interestingly, this form has also been seen preserved amongst the Haliwa-Saponi in Hollister, North Carolina.

Other older subsistence practices being revived among the Patawomeck include the tanning of hides, the collecting of animal by-products (feathers, bones, sinews, etc.) and an attempt to reintroduce the White Oak “Dog Mart.” Darren Shenamann has led the efforts in hide tannery, focusing mainly on brain tanning of deerskins. His methods appear mostly to be self-taught, but he possesses a substantial degree of understanding of the principal processes needed to produce high-grade braintan hides. Several members of his extended family are also engaged in the effort. The members of the Patawomeck community that are engaged in resource collection share feathers, bone, shell, and stone with other members of the community, further encouraging the revival or preservation of such crafts. In fact, enough materials were apparently available to supply New Line Cinema with all of the turkey feathers and antler used during the wardrobe and set constructions for Terrence Malick’s *The New World* (2005). Community members actively participated in the filming of the movie, providing support to the production company as consultants and in promotion of the final product. Ultimately, New Line Cinema dedicated a portion of the profits from the film to the Patawomecks and donated a large collection of cultural materials back to the tribe.

The Fredericksburg “Dog Mart” was an early twentieth-century festival possibly based on colonial era markets in which both natives and colonists participated. The revived tradition centered on the auctioning of hunting dogs. Oral tradition indicates the Pamunkey raised and sold many of these dogs. In spite of their central role, however,

Mattaponies and Pamunkeys were not formally invited to attend the event until the 1940s, where they were asked to sell crafts, sing, and dance. Later, around 1975, the Indians left the event and the Mart declined until the Patawomeck returned as the “showcase” visitors in 2001. They too offered crafts for sale and discussed the history and culture of their community in a more vocal way than in times past. Publicly, the Patawomeck were hailed as the rightful heirs to the invigorated “Dog Mart” (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, personal communication).

Women of the Patawomeck continue to produce quilts that are made by multiple community members working together. Quilts are sold at the Dog Mart and at the annual Quilt Auction, hosted by the Patawomeck in White Oak. The quilting tradition has remained strong amongst the elderly women; more recently it has been reinvigorated as younger women are introduced to the communal process and the Patawomeck more actively assert their presence in Northern Virginia via public displays.

There are also numerous (perhaps 500) members of the Patawomeck community living in Stafford, Virginia. A strong sense of community can be felt among the Patawomeck in Stafford, who display a wide knowledge of kin ties and affinal relations dating back several generations, a common topic of conversation. An example of a common discussion among 50-to-65-year-old community members is as follows:

“I remember when we were kids, Gary and I used to climb over those [eel pots] out in the shed behind the house. They were my granddads...”

“Are you and Gary brother and sister?”

“No but we are close enough... our families are related... Gary lived across the street.”

“Do you remember when we were growing up and we used catch hell for that?”

“You two are brothers?”

“No but we lived next to each other... although if we think about it, we probably are. Bill, you’re related to yourself... what like 13 times? I’m related to myself at least 9 times. Our families go way back.”

This interest in kin ties is also expressed in their public genealogical presentations and displays (Figure 20).

The Patawomeck are experiencing renewed pride in their families and their particular cultural history. There are many young people involved and both men and women have an active role in defining the direction of the group (Figure 21). All are deemed valuable, with each having something to offer, and a sincere desire to learn, share, and help one another. The success of the Patawomeck’s efforts should be seen by



Figure 20: Patowomeck cultural and genealogical display, August 2006.
Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

the perception of the community as having achieved creating a more satisfying cultural experience and public visibility of their endeavors.

CHESAPEAKE BAY WATERMEN AND THEIR TIES TO TRADITIONAL GROUPS

The fabled watermen of the Chesapeake Bay, drawn from mixed African American, Native American and European-American communities, in general work in the open waters of the Bay south and east of GWB. The Waterman's Museum at Reedville, on the southern tip of the Northern Neck, chronicles the remarkable story of these skilled mariners and their rich linguistic, story-telling and musical traditions. Many traditional watermen live in small, shoreside villages, and especially on Tangier and Smith Islands. In the Park region, as was also true of the Bay watermen, most of those who fished and crabbed, and harvested eels, did so as part of a wider array of subsistence practices (interviews with James Latane II, Lawrence Latane II, Ellen Latane Gouldman, and Clay Horner, 2007). The Muse family reported that one family member fished



Figure 21: Top, young girls of the Patowomeck demonstrate grinding and sifting corn Bottom, Gordon Silver offers fresh pone, and Kathy Harding offers orientation at the genealogical booth. August 2006. Photos by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

exclusively and Clay Horner noted that before the decline of the crab population, he and his father were able to make a substantial portion of their income by crabbing. Reverend James Johnson and his wife Naomi Johnson, interviewed for this project, had relatives who fished in the Bay, and many of their family members had oyster plats, but these are located in Nomini Bay and to the south, while in the upper reaches of the Northern

Neck there was more focus on farming and timbering. At the time the research for this project was undertaken, there were only two commercial fishermen working out of Colonial Beach (interview with Lawrence Latane, 2007). Researchers for this project were unable to find evidence for an active commercial fishing community on properties associated with the Park.

Native American Ties to the Watermen

The Patowomecks interpret their own history as fisherpeople, and are proud of their contributions to the Waterman tradition. Scholars confirm their argument that some of the distinctive Chesapeake Bay shallow draft craft had both Native American and African American influences (e.g., Mountford 2004). One of the more impressive recent community projects has been the construction of several large wooden dugout canoes (Figure 22). Here, the Patowomeck have reintroduced a water vessel form that had relatively died out with the generations of the early twentieth century. Selecting a large popular that had been felled in a storm, men of the community engaged in construction techniques employed in the past (burned and scraped) and more modern techniques (metal tools). Within the last few decades, these canoes are the only ones to have been made by contemporary Powhatan descendants as a community initiative. It remains to be seen how the Patowomecks plan to use the crafts, or whether there will be further productions.

An extended quote from Frank Speck and his colleagues summarizes his views about the historicity of Native American fishing practices in northeastern Virginia:

A direct historical approach to the problem [of the Rappahannock emphasis on farming rather than fishing] may suggest an explanation. The weakness of the fishing focus in the food quest of the tribe may be a development brought about by the withdrawal of its ancestors from the Rappahannock river shores to the woods of the hinterland... let us suppose that the Rappahannock, like the Mattaponi and Pamunkey, had a river focus of culture in colonial times which was lost when the whites preempted the lands because of the greater fertility of the lowlands and the attraction of fishing
(Speck et al. 1946:16).

Although Speck found a greater emphasis on fishing among the Patowomeck, the Pamunkey, and the Mattaponi (whose reserves have river access), he believes that all these groups, as well as the Rappahannocks, have had their fishing emphasis curtailed



Figure 22: Patawomeck canoes in various stages of construction, August 2006.
Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

over the last four hundred years, as they were forced into marginal and off-river locations.

African Americans in the Study Area with Ties to the Chesapeake Bay Watermen

Many African Americans on the Northern Neck rely on fishing for extra earnings and for their own sustenance. Earlier in the century, as noted in the previous chapter, many African Americans were employed in the oyster industry as well. Reverend James

Johnson noted that he and his family often fished and crabbed for domestic consumption, and that many supplemented their income by selling crabs and eels. Dennis Johnson worked with Goodwin Muse, one of the only Park neighbors to make his living exclusively on the water. Fishing and crabbing also continue to be popular recreational activities in the African American community.

In summary, the overlaps between traditional groups with long histories on the Northern Neck are best represented by the watermen community. Vague stories collected from oral history interviews with African Americans in Westmoreland County mention Indian forebears, men with ties to the water (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). As noted above, the Patawomeck are proud of their fishing traditions, and mention several tribal members who have or now fish commercially in the Chesapeake Bay. Many Anglo American families with long histories on the Northern Neck also claim ties to the traditional watermen community. Further research would undoubtedly uncover more such ties. This potential research will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: COMMEMORATIVE AND LIVING HISTORY ORGANIZATIONS AT GWB

THE COMMEMORATIVE MOVEMENT, THE WAKEFIELD ASSOCIATION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GWB

It was only one month after Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox that the members of the first Ladies' Memorial Association gathered to mourn and honor the defeated South (Janney 2006:165). Although the earliest commemoration of Washington's Birthplace took place in 1815, when George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's grandson, made a special trip to the site to commemorate his birth and marked the site with a stone marker (now destroyed), the influence of memorial groups was central to the establishment of many of the significant museums, parks and national heritage sites that we enjoy today. The subsequent history of the Birthplace is thus best understood in light of the growth of Ladies Memorial Associations throughout the South.

A number of scholars have studied the development of Confederate Memory, and the myth of the Lost Cause, discussing the racial, cultural, political and social dimensions of this movement. These scholars argue that in the uncertain times following the war, Southerners began to redefine their identities and to "invent" a different, more glorious Southern past. Part of this movement was the "collective" forgetting of slavery and a "rewriting" of the history of Reconstruction as a period of Yankee aggression and black betrayal (Woodward 1951:154-55; Blight 2001; Shackel 2003).

Southern women, according to Caroline Janney, played an important role as keepers of memory, and in promulgating the basic tenets of the Lost Cause mentality. Among the most important contributions made by them was the establishment of memorial associations. Janney writes that while women's work is often seen in terms of voluntarism, it was also intensely political (2006:166). Janney notes that prior to the Civil War, death and mourning had been the province of women. Southern casualties were so great, and resources were so constrained, that in the years following the war, many women felt that inadequate obsequies had been observed. Too, they mourned the

despoilment of the landscape, and the loss of their homes. Newly impoverished, and facing the prospects of an entirely different and more laborious future, many women sought consolation in the glories of the South's past and women's role within it. These women viewed themselves as "Ladies," to whom others would look for guidance, moral leadership, and strength (Janney 2006:169). Ladies' Memorial Associations were one venue for the expression of these sentiments, and numerous examples of such associations in Virginia can be cited. Central to their activities was the arrangement, maintenance and visitation of cemeteries. Another frequent activity was the commissioning of memorials, including plaques, stones, and monuments. Southern women also understood themselves to be acting with both dignity and defiance, and, in claiming a principal role in these societies, staking a claim for themselves in post-war society (Janney 2006:178-179).

The Southern Ladies Memorial Associations were also active during the period of another national social movement, known as the Colonial Revival. This movement reflected a new historicism, and was marked by early efforts to preserve and maintain historic houses such as Mount Vernon and Monticello. Historian Seth Bruggeman suggests that a further influence, the establishment of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, which helped to raise money for Union soldiers and their widows, by holding events known as Sanitary Fairs. Here, women in colonial costume demonstrated historic cooking techniques (2007:10). These influential exhibitions contributed to a growing national interest in the Colonial past, and inspired many historic house interpretive programs, especially cooking demonstrations. It was these women's memorial and social movements, now well-documented by historians, which formed the background for the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument, to be described in the following section.

Washington descendants were always cognizant of their family's heritage. In February 1832 John Gray placed an advertisement in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, offering for sale 1,300 acres or more of "rich river land." He added that it was the acreage on Pope's Creek on which General George Washington was born. The Washington property was purchased by Daniel Payne and Henry T. Garrett on May 10, 1832 (Hatch 1968:106-107). Other advertisements have similar messages. Papers of William Lewis Washington, George Corbin Washington's son and heir, dating to the 1850s, include

some early examples of Washington memorabilia, including a postcard with Washington's image (College of William and Mary, Swem Library, Special Collections).

Although William Lewis Washington deeded the site of the Washington family home and graveyard, which included the Washington family vault, to the Commonwealth of Virginia prior to the Civil War, the conspicuous memorialization of the property did not begin until after its close. In preparation for acquisition of the property by the Federal Government, a remarkable expedition to the birthplace took place in October 1878, when Secretary of State William M. Evarts with a party that included General W. T. Sherman and Charles C. Perkins of Boston, traveled to Pope's Creek on the U.S.S. *Tallapoosa*. Sherman made a sketch of the property, and identified the remains of a brick kitchen (House Documents 48 Congress, 1 session, no. 160, p. 2; see also MHS Proc. 1879-80, XVII, 239-240).

While John F. Wilson, the owner of modern Wakefield, objected to some of the government's plans for the monument, which involved moving the Washington family burial vault from its original location on a promontory overlooking the Potomac, the cemetery was shifted to its present location and a site for the monument was finally agreed upon. The granite obelisk and plinth was erected at the Washington birthplace site in 1895-96. The monument, which was shipped down the Potomac by barge, was dragged onto shore and up a purpose-built wharf (interviews with James Latane 1976 and Goodwin Muse, 1986). Members of the Latane family donated the right of way to the monument, and maintained the site and the road in the years prior to the establishment of the park (interview with James Latane I, 1976). The monument drew many visitors, who came to visit the site and picnic and swim at the shallow beach (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007). James Latane recalled "touring" the property with his grandfather in a horse-drawn carriage, and told stories of unexpected encounters with curious visitors, who also felt free to pick fruit from the trees on the property.

THE WAKEFIELD NATIONAL MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION IN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Mrs. Josephine Wheelwright Rust, a Pope family descendant, and tied through marriage to another prominent local family, was concerned that the monument erected by the government was not sufficient to honor the president and his birthplace. She

proposed to friends, relatives, and influential acquaintances, that monies be collected for the purpose of acquiring the property surrounding it (Mallory 1995). This property was the nucleus around which the present park was formed. Several people interviewed for this project were, or knew of, the founding members of the Wakefield National Memorial Association,⁴⁰ and thus were witnesses to the establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Many of these were Park neighbors. Among the first to join were Washington family descendants and park neighbors Marsham Latane, Betty Latane Stiffe, and Janet Latane Washington.

It appears that from the beginning, Mrs. Rust envisioned the creation of a replica of Washington's birthplace, and she was successful in attracting support for her project, especially among prominent members of Westmoreland County society, Washington family members from elsewhere, politicians, and significantly, from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who at the same time was also engaged in negotiations to purchase property for the proposed restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. Mrs. Rust's vision was not shared by all National Park Service staff, who were concerned about the accuracy of the reconstruction.

Nevertheless, in 1926, Congress authorized the Association to construct a facsimile of the original birth house. The group also acquired seventy more acres of the original plantation, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. purchased an additional 274 acres for the association in 1929. The Association was responsible for restoration of the Washington cemetery and repair of the vault. Members of the Association, especially Mrs. Rust, closely supervised the construction of the replica house, importing artisans from the restoration at Williamsburg and using clay from the property itself for the manufacture of the bricks used in the construction (interview with Dal Mallory, March 2007). An Act of Congress, dated January 23, 1930, formally established the George Washington Birthplace National Monument. In June 1931, the Wakefield Association agreed to transfer its lands to the United States government (Hatch 1968:139, 161).

Charles Hatch (1979) and Paul Carson (1986) also provide useful overviews of the history of the Wakefield Association. According to their research, Mrs. Rust was a formidable organizer, and cared deeply about the property and the commemoration of Washington family history. Sadly, she died only days after signing the deed transferring

⁴⁰ These include Betty Horner, Virginia Clapp, Ellen Gouldman, and Dal Mallory.

the memorial to the National Park, on June 26, 1931. Mrs. Rust also worked tirelessly to furnish the Memorial House, acquiring furniture known to have been owned by members of the Washington family. Unfortunately, most of the furnishings she was able to locate dated from the period after the Washington family had left Pope's Creek, and it was ultimately decided that they were not appropriate for interpreting the period of Washington's childhood. Many of the furnishings Mrs. Rust acquired, however, are now in the collections of the Montross Historical Society (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007).

THE WAKEFIELD NATIONAL MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

Among the many topics engaging the scholars of heritage sites is the issue of collective memory. Most agree that the "past" is a social construction, shaped by the concerns of the present. Scholars are fascinated by the ways in which successive generations redefine the past, and in particular, how the lives of well-known historical figures, such as George Washington, have been reinterpreted through time, reflecting various transformations of American society as a whole (Schwartz 1991:221). These arguments were foreshadowed in the writings of sociologist Emile Durkheim, who argued that conceptions of the past are maintained through periodic commemoration rites, whose function was not to transform the past, but to reproduce it, so that it may live again (1912:415, 420). Sociologist David Schwartz has examined the "history" of histories of George Washington, in demonstration of Durkheim's trenchant observations. Schwartz points out that interpretations of Washington have portrayed him both as an aristocrat and as a common man, hard working and with a strong sense of family responsibility (1991:223).

As summarized by Schwartz, changes in the historical "reputation" of George Washington can be dated to the post-Civil War era, when interest in Washington began to decline (1991:224). Early twentieth-century writers implied that the events of the Revolution, dwarfed as they were by the cataclysm of the War Between the States, seemed less significant. It was suggested that Washington, a member of a wealthy and privileged family, had less to teach a new, progressive, and egalitarian society.



Figure 23: Wakefield Celebration in the 1930s.
Courtesy of National Park Service.

It is within this context the development of the Wakefield Association must also be understood. It was precisely the concern that Washington's story was less often told, or that it seemed less relevant to younger generations, that motivated Mrs. Rust and the new members of the Wakefield National Memorial Association as well. The conflict that occurred concerning the building of the house itself, and its interpretation are telling in this regard. The elegant mansion Mrs. Rust envisioned, the furnishings she purchased for it, and the Southern "manners" displayed by Wakefield Association members who interpreted the Mansion in the early decades of the park's history, came to seem out of step.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, George Washington began to appear in stories and narratives as an avatar of American values: a hard working farmer, a dedicated family man, a bold frontiersman, and a "pioneer." Americans also warmed to stories of George Washington as a child. Hints of this changing appraisal appear in the National Park Service records of the Wakefield National Memorial Association. For example, one folder in the records contains a typescript from 1931 entitled "The Frontier Background of George Washington's Career" (Bx. 29). Dr. Dwight Storke, a long-time park superintendent, Washington family descendant, and local resident,

worked hard during his tenure to portray those aspects of Washington's character he felt were most admirable, those of a family man and farmer. For Dr. Storke, "Washington embodied three important characteristics, "ties to the land and the Potomac River, family, and spirituality. Washington... was passionately interested in farming, and in developing better farming methods." Dr. Storke has very strong views about Washington and the Park, some of which are embodied in a film he helped to produce, called *Childhood Place*.

However, people interviewed for this project also contest the idea that Rust was implacably opposed to the evolving National Park Service interpretation at the site, or that the "controversy" over the Memorial House was a bitter one (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007; interview with Betty Horner 2007). When pressed, women who had been active in the Association from the beginning stressed that "accuracy" was the predominant goal of all work, and if anything, the failure of Park Service staff to be sufficiently attentive to detail motivated many to devote their own time to research (see below). The continuing concern of the George Washington Birthplace National Memorial Association's members with the care of the Memorial House and its furnishings, is an expression of the importance of the structure as a symbol of hospitality, public service, and the central role of women in preservation and memorialization.

Washington's Southern Heritage

Northern Neck residents of the 1920s and 1930s, in spite of harsh financial conditions, had a great deal of local pride, and welcomed the excitement surrounding Mrs. Rust's plans (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007). Mrs. Rust was concerned, among other things, that the monument erected by the federal government was not a sufficient tribute to George Washington's reputation. She was also chagrined, as were many other Westmoreland County residents, to realize that many people mistakenly assumed that Washington was born at Mount Vernon (interview with Betty Horner, 2004). A strong sense of local pride was thus a factor in Mrs. Rust's efforts to bring more recognition to the birthplace site. Mrs. Virginia Clapp recalled that "It was something to brag about, that the first President of the United States was born here" (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007).

Although the formation of the Wakefield National Memorial Association took place in what Bruggeman calls the "waning years of the colonial revival period"

(2007:19), the values linked to this movement, as well as to the Southern Ladies Memorial associations described above, were those espoused by the Wakefield Association's membership long after other such organizations had ceased to have influence elsewhere. In particular, Washington's elite status as a member of the planter gentry was central to Mrs. Rust's vision of him, and determined her goals for the property. Schwartz suggests that

The people most inclined to notice and broadcast Washington's eighteenth century traits were those people displaced by the late nineteenth century industrial order, people who subscribed to a distinct code of values, and who modeled their lives in accordance with gentility, modified by American circumstances, distinguished by good breeding, wealth, and commitment to public duty (Schwartz 1991:229).

All these qualities could be attributed to Mrs. Rust herself, who allowed her strong views concerning the kind of home she thought George Washington ought to have lived in to influence her decisions about the location and appearance of the Memorial House, in spite of evidence to the contrary (Bruggeman 2007).

According to Dal Mallory, however, Mrs. Rust's principal motivation was patriotic. She saw George Washington as an exemplar of the values that she believed were distinctly American, including honor, bravery, and service (interview with Dal Mallory, 2007). Mrs. Rust also insisted that this be an organization for women only. The Memorial House was meant to serve as a venue for the reenactment of traditional values, and for the display of "proper" etiquette, especially as it was reflected in "ladylike" behavior. This reenactment had several dimensions, which will be discussed below.

"Southern Hospitality"

Mrs. Virginia Clapp, who was born outside of Montross, is from an old Westmoreland County family and claims that the Methodist cemetery at Oldhams is "full of my ancestors." Mrs. Clapp is familiar with the history of the Wakefield Association because her mother was an original member. She recalled that

The little niceties were important. They took pride in the house, took the responsibility for quilts, took on housekeeping. Anything that should go along with southern pride and showing southern hospitality—they wanted the people showing visitors through the house exhibiting good manners, and showing hospitality... and the costumes, everyone had one.

She adds:

[the organization tried to add the touches that] the “cold government” didn’t provide. . . they didn’t want to get in the way [of the staff] but they wanted to help, [in spite of the] rules and regulations that came from Washington.

Accuracy

Mrs. Horner became a member of the Wakefield Association in the 1950s. She recalled that it was very different then, and stresses that great efforts were made by the women to present the Washington era as accurately as possible:

there was no function that they participated they didn’t do just right. . . the table was set like it would have been, the food was like that, the cookies. . . the cider, there were no fresh flowers, only whatever was available at the time. . . candles were rare then.

When asked how the members knew whether things were “just right” she replied:

People did their own research. Two of the members even went to Sulgrave Manor to find about the crewel work, the women of the organization. Did the crewel work on the beds and the chairs. . . they researched the gardens, what plants they would have grown.

Long-time Wakefield Association members dispute the notion that there was controversy over the Memorial House. Mrs. Clapp remembered that “we were just interested”:

People weren’t used to archeology in those days, we tended to take [what we were told] on faith. . . no one was alive who remembered where the old house was—it was just something that was molding away. . . [people accepted that] it was going to be a shrine.

All of the members found the garden interesting, even after it was clear from the archeology that it was not in the right place either. One area of great discussion among the Wakefield Association members was the content of the gift shop, which they stocked and ran. Mrs. Horner recalled:

[T]hey had different committees like the gift shop. They had to get official ok from Philadelphia to put things in there. There was controversy about mobcaps, many felt that all the things in the gift shop had to have been there when George was there! There was always a big debate about what we could put in.

A Small Group of Northern Neck Women

The Wakefield Association was an important part of Westmoreland County social life. Among those who remember the earliest days of the organization are three

people interviewed for this study: Betty Horner, Virginia Clapp, and Ellen Gouldman. Mrs. Virginia Clapp, a former member of the George Washington Memorial Association Board, recalls the earliest days of the Wakefield Memorial Association. Her mother, like many prominent women in town, was invited to join, and all welcomed the opportunity to participate in memorial activities at the site.

The principal event was the yearly laying of the wreath at the Washington family graveyard, an event sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution, in commemoration of George Washington's birthday. Refreshments thought appropriate to the period of Washington's childhood, such as gingerbread, were provided to guests on these occasions. Mrs. Clapp, like Mrs. Betty Horner, another early member of the Wakefield Association, recalled that the organization started out with the goal of providing visitors with "Southern hospitality" and a taste of "proper manners" (interview with Betty Horner, 2007; interview with Virginia Clapp 2007; see also Chapter Six). Women purchased or made their own costumes, and took pride in ensuring their accuracy (interview with Betty Horner 2007; interview with Virginia Clapp, Ellen Gouldman, 2007). Mrs. Gouldman still owns a costume she wore while volunteering at the park. Photographs of Mrs. Gouldman's grandmother and aunt in the Park Archives document these costumes and accessories.

Although Virginia Clapp was away at school when the Memorial House was built, her mother was a founding member of the Wakefield Association, as were a number of her friends. Mrs. Clapp recalled:

[W]e knew each other because our parents knew each other socially, attended some of the same activities—we went to St. Peter's [Episcopal Church, in Oak Grove]. They went to the church as well. There were relatives and friends among the church groups. Small group got to know each other well. Mrs. Latane was a member of the Women's Club in 1939, she and mother were both members. Men in the family had business associations together.

According to Mrs. Horner, it was a distinctive kind of social group. "They were a really small group, Northern Neck women that were interested in the park, in history." Mrs. Horner recalled the ordeal of being voted on: "I had to go out in the other room and I was voted on."

Even late in the organization's history, members relied on social ties to recruit officers and board members. Mrs. Clapp, who had been active only at the Historical

Society in Montross until she retired, served on the Board in the late 1990s. When asked how she happened to be appointed she recalled, “because somebody asked me that I didn’t like to say no to. . . Usually whoever is on the board asks the next one—you are usually asking a good friend—you feel more inclined to be loyal.”

Plays and Pageants

Among the most important of the early activities of the Association were plays, often inspired by George Washington’s life. The United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission (1931-32), sponsored such plays, and scripts still survive in the archives at George Washington Birthplace National Monument. For example, there was a script written by Percy MacKaye written in 1932 entitled *Wakefield, A Folk-Masque of the Birth of Washington*. Another was entitled *Childhood Days in Washington’s Time*. The Bicentennial Association also sponsored music and research into the music that would have been typical of George Washington’s time, and even prepared a brochure about how to produce a pageant in honor of George Washington (Wakefield Association n.d.).

Genealogical and Historical Research

The papers of the Wakefield National Memorial Association also include extensive genealogical notes. Some of these concern Washington himself, and others his various descendants. Others are devoted to the genealogies of other prominent Virginia leaders. Other files include research conducted by members on the Washington family, and on park properties.

The Association’s Work at GWB

The recent Administrative History of the Park (Bruggeman 2007) details the relations between the Park and the Wakefield Association, with particular emphasis on the ongoing controversy over the Mansion, an example of colonial revival reconstruction now known to bear little resemblance to the original Washington home. The Wakefield Association operated a tea and guest house, a gift shop and a post office. It paid for and furnished the Mansion, using reproduction and antique furniture thought to be appropriate to the Washington’s tenure. Volunteers from the Association also served as costumed interpreters. In addition, the Association proposed in 1935, that an annual birthday celebration be held at the memorial “by serving hot cider and gingerbread made from old family recipes” (Bruggeman 2007:42). The Wakefield

Association held many public events, musicals, and lectures. A highlight of each year was the Christmas celebration, with refreshments and music, and the presence of historic reenactors dressed as Washington family members. Dal Mallory, a former Association member, has interpreted several Washington family members at the Birthplace, and now belongs to a group known as “Washington and Friends” that does presentations at Ferry Farm and elsewhere (interview with Dal Mallory, 2007).

PARK NEIGHBORS, THE WAKEFIELD ASSOCIATION, AND PARK STAFF

As noted in Chapter Six, the many-layered ties that link the park to the Wakefield Association are made more complex by the significant participation of park neighbors (originally, all women) in the Wakefield Association. Several Latane women have had a central place in the Wakefield Association, including Marsham Flemmer Latane, wife of James Latane; Janet Latane Washington; Bessie Latane Stiffe; Ellen Latane Gouldman; and Maude Ellen Latane. Maude Ellen, who died in 2004, was Lawrence Latane II’s wife and the mother of Lawrence Latane III. She was universally acknowledged to be a central figure in the community, and a leading member of the Wakefield National Memorial Association. Born in 1926 in Southampton County, she married Lawrence W. Latane II in 1948 and soon became actively involved in the organization. She was a costumed volunteer, and was frequently photographed in historic costume at the park. An active church member at St. Peter’s Episcopal Church, she was deeply interested in the history of the Washington family and in Westmoreland County’s history as well (interview with Ellen Gouldman, 2007). Long-time members of the association recall good relations with park staff, both in the 1950s, and later, during Dwight Storke’s tenure as Park Superintendent.

Dr. Storke, who grew up not far from the Park, points out that his family has ties to the Washingtons, and he viewed the opportunity to live on park grounds, to work at the park, and to shape its programs as professionally and personally meaningful (interview with Dwight Storke, 2007; see also Chapter Seven). Dr. Storke’s son, John Storke, is a park staff member today. He recalls growing up at the Park, and loved its natural setting, its plants and animals (interview with John Storke, 2007). Other park neighbors recall close friendships with the wives and children of park employees, and Charles Hatch, park historian in the 1960s, married a member of the Muse family

(interviews with Betty Horner, 2004 and 2007, and with Ellen Latane Gouldman and Janice Muse Frye, 2007). Given the insular nature of Northern Neck society throughout its history, these ties are not surprising, and have added to the unique character of the park. Most park neighbors also agree that these unusual ties were a key to its success, crucial during the years when economic resources were limited, and a great deal of voluntary activity was required for upkeep and to accommodate visitors (interview with Betty Horner, 2004).

During Dr. Storke's tenure, the park also saw its greatest involvement with the "living history movement" especially as reflected in the "living farm" program (see below). Dwight Storke was very enthusiastic about historic farming methods, and wanted to interpret these, as well as livestock management, at the park. Many Wakefield Association members were intrigued by this program, and provided support for "living history" days at the Park. Dr. Storke also restored the nature trails many of the older members/park neighbors enjoyed.

CHANGING CHARACTER OF THE ASSOCIATION

Following the death in 1958 of Francis Crowninshield, a long-time member, and secretary of the Wakefield Association, there was a period of disarray and a loss of a sense of mission. The organization had just finished a major drive to furnish the Memorial House, and the Log House tea rooms had closed. Other changes in the organization have taken place as well. For example, Kitty Smith, a long-time president of the Association, decided in the 1950s, that "it wasn't much fun" not to have men as members, and men were duly invited to join (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007).

However, with the arrival of Dwight Storke as superintendent in 1989, interest in the park among Wakefield Association members revived. Dr. Storke, who had been at the Park earlier as a ranger, was known and liked by park neighbors and members of the Wakefield Association "because he reached out to them." Chief Ranger Larry Trombello, who served with Superintendent Storke, recalls a renewed sense of energy within the Association at that time (interview with Larry Trombello, 2007).

The Association members valued the fact that Dr. Storke was a "throwback" to the earlier, more intimate style of park management. Betty Horner knew that she could always count on him to be there; he was responsive to requests from members of the

Association, and “if he could, he tried to fix what was wrong” (interview with Betty Horner, 2007). Storke and his family participated in all the events held at the park, and were friendly with all the park neighbors. All those interviewed feel that this deep level of involvement is crucial to good relations between the Association, the park neighbors, and park staff.

Larry Trombello served as park liaison with the George Washington Birthplace Memorial Association from 1992 to 2002. Mrs. Horner also recalls this period as one in which the Wakefield Association maintained good relations with park staff:

At that time (in the 1990s) it was very good, cordial, you know, we had a representative [from the park] who came to the board meetings, was it the superintendent? Larry Trombello sat on the board for a good number of years
(interview with Betty Horner, March, 2007).

During that period, membership grew, and new initiatives were undertaken. There were two full membership meetings a year, one before Christmas and one in June. The board and committee chairs met once a month. The board meetings, which Mr. Trombello attended, comprised about fifteen people, while the full membership meetings attracted between forty and sixty people. The principal function of the organization was twofold: to raise funds for park projects (through membership dues and revenues from the gift shop), especially to pay for things the government would not pay for, such as refreshments or other entertainment, and the preservation of the Memorial House furnishings. Although the National Park Service did fund the maintenance of furnishings, Mr. Trombello remembers that the Association arranged to have all the House’s draperies cleaned, and to have the original crewel-work furnishings repaired. He recalled that there were often concerns expressed about how well the park was maintaining the Memorial House. The Association paid for the blinds that are in the house today, a generous gift, although now understood to be slightly anachronistic, as such blinds were not introduced until after the 1730s, the period to which the house is meant to interpret. The Association’s full membership meetings often featured music on historic instruments (Ruth Ann Muse, another member of a park neighbor family, played the violin).

When questioned about what he thought was unique about the Wakefield Association, Mr. Trombello replied, “a lot of them live right there, are park neighbors... in those ways I think it is unique.” When asked if the primary focus of the organization

was George Washington and his history, however, Mr. Trombello replied, “I heard it more from the park people, [that the park needed] to get back to George Washington, the man, what he stood for.” Instead, what he frequently heard at Association meetings, was concern over the Memorial House, its furnishings, and its care.

Mr. Trombello recalled that by the 1990s some of the older members had stopped attending regularly. Some long-time members of the Wakefield Association no longer participate due to disagreements with the current board of the George Washington Birthplace National Association. Some objected to changing membership policies. The emphasis is now on increasing membership, to bring in more funds. The current members are often busy professionals, and cannot volunteer as often as was the case in the past. Some older members also feel that the communication with Park staff has been less effective than in the past. Others have joined the Monroe’s Birthplace Association, or historical re-enactor organizations. However, many still enjoy the organization and attend its meetings and lectures. Mrs. Dwight Storke is still an active member (interview, 2007). Mrs. Virginia Clapp also enjoys the activities arranged by the George Washington’s Birthplace National Monument Association. During her tenure on the board, they organized lecture programs, sometimes jointly with the local chapter of the DAR. The highlight continues to be the February meetings, where they give awards and put a wreath on the monument.

LIVING HISTORY AT GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT

George Washington Birthplace National Monument has an important place in the history of commemorative sites. Beginning with donation of the kernel of the memorial site, the Birthplace has been the site of significant federal, state and local commemorations since the late nineteenth century. The Wakefield Memorial Association is one of many important commemorative organizations in the South, and its mission is similar to that of other such groups, that is, to celebrate the lives of significant historical figures such as George Washington and the values they represent. GWB as a commemorative site educates visitors about the role such figures have played locally and nationally, and reinforces local pride. In analyzing such sites, the anthropologist Edward Bruner wrote that “the challenge for anthropologists is to transcend the opposition

between the authentic and the inauthentic.” He differentiated between two meanings of authenticity: “historical verisimilitude” that is accepted as credible by tourists, and “genuineness,” something that George Washington himself would accept as true (Bruner 2004: 138,149). GWB is one example of a place “where the reproduction is better than the original.” This is because culture is “emergent, always alive and in process... [and] the meaning of the text is not inherent in the text but emerges from how people read or experience the text.” For Bruner, “each new performance or expression of cultural heritage is a copy in that it always looks back to a prior performance... each is an original as it adapts to new circumstances and conditions” (2004: 161). Bruner regards heritage sites as areas for new social constructions. These sites provide the raw materials to “enact an ideology, recreate an origin myth, keep history alive, and attach tourists to a mythical collective consciousness” (2004:167).

This active history-making is best expressed during the “living farm” period at George Washington’s Birthplace (1979-1995). This program was undertaken during a period of great national enthusiasm for living history, associated with the Bicentennial. Dr. Dwight Storke, who was Park Superintendent during much of this period, was devoted to portraying what he called the “sights, sounds, and smells” that would have surrounding the young George Washington and his family at Pope’s Creek. Although his funds were limited, Storke moved as many employees as possible into costumed interpretation, including another member of the Muse family, Ruth Ann Muse, and he and his staff worked tirelessly to ensure that the programs and presentations were as lively and authentic as possible (interview, 2007). Roberta Samuel, a long-time Park Service employee came to the park first as part of the maintenance crew, but soon moved into costumed interpretation. It was Samuel who pushed for a fuller interpretation of the life of enslaved African Americans (interview with Roberta Samuel, March 2006).

Dwight Storke had an enthusiastic group of volunteers who were interested in interpretation, cultural resources, and gardening. He required that maintenance staff be costumed if they worked in the exhibit area. He noted that they schedule maintenance so that machinery was only used before or after Park visiting hours. Dr. Storke spoke of “balance” in interpretation, adding, “people understood when they felt, smelled, and touched.” He credited a number of organizations, including the Wakefield association, the Leedstown Chapter of the DAR, and the Boy Scouts, for their help at the Park (interview, 2007).

Visitation was at an all-time high during this period, and George Washington Birthplace National Monument was among the most highly rated National Parks, according to visitor surveys of the period (interview with Dwight Storke, 2007). Janice Muse Frye, who began as a summer employee at the park in 1972, remembers the excitement of the period. She had been a history major, and enjoyed explaining eighteenth-century life to visitors. She recalled, “I remember I would stand outside the Memorial House, and take a twig from the hackberry tree outside, and I’d say “see, you could use this as a toothbrush” (interview with Seth Bruggeman, 2004). Other local residents also remember this period with nostalgia. Mrs. Virginia Clapp recalled that

I miss seeing the living farm I always took small children there, it was ideal for children with the kitchen and animals. . . I miss that. . . To me that was one of the biggest charms, that they tried to show what a small child would see. . . what city and even country children don’t see (interview with Virginia Clapp, 2007).

Interpretation at GWB

Janice Muse Frye, who worked as a costumed interpreter in the 1970s, is convinced that the living history demonstrations which Park staff undertook were both very significant to interpretations at the park and for visitors. She notes that during her tenure there were very dedicated interpreters at the park, who had a wide range of skills. This recollection is seconded by Ruth Ann Muse, who worked as an interpreter at the park between 1993 and 1998 (interview with Ruth Ann Muse, July 30, 2007). She also recalled a number of skilled interpreters, especially her supervisor Roberta Samuel. She feels very strongly that such interpretation drew on the multiple skills of many dedicated people, including weavers, seamstresses, cooks, and others, as well as farm demonstrators. She noted “everything that was done at Williamsburg, was done here.” She believes that interpretation helps to “balance out” the story of the Birthplace, giving time to stories of indentured servants (“the Scottish immigrants were treated horribly”) and enslaved Africans. She did not recall much overlap between the Wakefield Association and the costumed interpreters and the living history volunteers, but felt that these dedicated people brought many return visitors to the park. She also noted that many of the volunteers were affiliated with the Episcopal churches, St. James and St. Peters, and that many were relatives or close friends (interview with Ruth Ann Muse, July 30, 2007).



Figure 24: 1977 July 4th Celebration at Wakefield.
Courtesy of the *Northumberland Echo*.

Several scholars have written about historical re-enactors and the deeply-felt connections to the past that motivate people to participate in living history (e.g., Handler and Saxton 1988; Turner 1990; Stanton 1999). Re-enactors flock to events at historic sites and national parks, and the decline in living history programming at national parks due to stiff cutbacks in park staff and funding in the 1980s and 1990s has not been in synchrony with a large and growing national and international interest in “experiential” history. Nevertheless, John Frye, who until recently served as the park’s liaison with volunteers, notes that there is still a small core group of enthusiastic volunteers at GWB, many of whom are couples (interview, March, 2007). Like many others, however, these busy people are unable to devote significant time to living history, participating only on an occasional basis. According to Frye, visitors still attend such events in large numbers.

An interview with some of the Master Gardeners, who have revived a volunteer project at the Memorial House garden, reveals a great deal of interest in the park and its history, and a willingness to support any efforts to restore and maintain the Colonial Revival era garden (group interview, July 2007).

INTERPRETING AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AT GWB⁴¹

Interviews with African American leaders of Westmoreland County in 2006 and 2007 revealed an urgent sense among them that African American history is not well understood, and that historical knowledge from within the community is in danger of being lost:

One of the crucial things that we need to do is—keep our history going. Because, first of all distorted history is not history. We often get history that is told in bits and pieces and there is so much that is left out. I believe that all information that you can get that will tell the story of our history should be given but it is too often, even today, we find a lot of things that happen in a negative nature simply, because we don't know. You see a lack of knowledge has really hindered us. We have lost a lot of the things that we have had in the past that motivate us to go on to do what we should be doing
(African American resident of Montross, Virginia, interviews, 2006).

While African American history is now a part of most school curricula, many older African American residents of Westmoreland County rely on other means of commemorating their history, efforts that are also centered on maintaining a sense of community. Among the most important of these efforts are family reunions, some of which have been held at GWB. Interviewees mentioned many such community-building efforts including a celebration of the achievements of local African Americans, narratives of family history, and an effort to identify family links. Those interviewed noted that this history should be of interest to the community as a whole, as the work that African American people did was instrumental in the success of many white planter families and their descendants.

⁴¹ The material in this section is based on a group interview conducted in September 2006 with the following individuals: The Reverend Henry Lee, Mary W. Dixon, Minister Lester Harvey, Mary J. Lane, Charles Johnson, Elnora Johnson, and Lois Johnson. Additional information came from interviews conducted with Roberta Samuel, Reverend James Johnson, and Mrs. James Johnson in 2007.

Many also point out that enslaved African Americans not only contributed to the prosperity of places but also helped to mold great Westmoreland County citizens such as the Washingtons of Pope's Creek Plantation and the Lees of Stratford Hall Plantation.

One interviewee stated:

We find that as we look into the community we see things that happen, prosperity I am speaking of, and we find that we were a major part of it but yet it is not mentioned. This needs to be passed on—from generation to generation. I mean, if there's going to be history, this should be history (African American resident of Montross, interviews, 2006).

GWB and the African American Experience

Although, as described above, many African Americans were and are employed at the Park, most African Americans interviewed for this project know GWB best as a recreational site, and as the setting for numerous Church activities. According to African American interviewees, GWB was once an important venue for African American social events, including picnics and general “getting together.” Many recall using the park's beaches and picnic areas, although few visited the Mansion (interviews, 2006). The Reverend James Johnson and his wife Mrs. Naomi Johnson recounted the details of many such picnic suppers, prayer meetings, and baptisms at GWB, sponsored by their church, as well as the Oak Grove Baptist Church. Some older interviewees also recalled attending July 4th celebrations at the Park as well. Most events included lavish “pot-luck” meals, with an emphasis on local specialties and traditional dishes such as corn bread, meat and vegetable stews and chicken dishes. Reverend Johnson recalled that these social occasions were opportunities for young people to meet, and for local community business to be conducted. People enjoyed swimming as well (interview with Reverend James Johnson and Mrs. Johnson, 2007).

African American Subsistence Uses of the Park

In the impoverished and racialized years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, African American men and women needed to combine farming, day labor, and seasonal work to survive, and many elderly people recall the real contribution that fish, crabs, and small game caught and snared in the area made to their livelihood (interview with Reverend James Johnson, 2007). Many of these subsistence activities took place on or near the park, as attested both by African American neighbors and park residents.

The Educational Benefits of the Park

In contrast to the white visitors, African Americans were less interested in the farming exhibits at the park (interviews, 2006). Many felt that these were not “any thing new” to those whose work was still largely agricultural. There is also a feeling, among some interviewees, that younger African Americans do not care to be reminded of the difficult lives their parents and grandparents lived. To members of the African American community in Westmoreland County, “plantations” are associated not with the proud political and social history of the region, but are the places where their ancestors were enslaved. On the other hand, interpreters such as Roberta Samuel, as a member of the African American community and a park interpreter, have worked hard to make the park’s history relevant to African Americans, to recognize and honor the work of enslaved African Americans, and to demonstrate their important contributions to American History. Many museums in the region, including Mount Vernon and Stratford Hall, have also developed programs that are relevant to the contemporary concerns of the African American community in the region, and nationally, in part by using interpretation to pose questions about enslavement, social justice, and the “hidden history” of minorities.

As part of a larger search for a different African American history than is usually portrayed, some African American writers raised interesting questions about the relationships between some enslaved African women to whom they are linked genealogically and prominent historical figures, including George Washington. For example, the Wills family has chronicled as well as publicized its links to the Park, and in 1999, GWB served as a site of family commemoration. Anita Wills, a writer and researcher, was the key organizer of a celebration at the Park for descendants of Mary and Patty Bowden, indentured servants employed by Augustine Washington from whom she believes she descended (Krishnamurthy 1999). Wills invited “scholars, educators, historians and the community to come and celebrate Mary and Patty’s life” (Wills 1999). Diane Swann-Wright, at the time a historian of Monticello, Robert Watson, Professor of African American history at Hampton University, and Dwight Pitcaithley, the National Park Service’s chief historian in Washington, were among the speakers at the ceremony (Krishnamurthy 1999).



Figure 25: Anita Wills at GWB. Back row, left to right: Paula Felder, Thena Jones, Therese Fisher, and Barry McGhee. Foreground: Anita Wills and James Laray. From Felder 1999.

In an article in the *Times-Dispatch*, staff writer Kiran Krishnamurthy noted that “National Park Service officials say Wills is the first black person they know who has traced her family history to the site” (Krishnamurthy 1999). Wills and about sixteen other Bowden descendants were among a total of about one hundred people who attended the ceremony at the Park on October 9, 1999. According to the Krishnamurthy’s article:

Dwight Pitcaithley... said that yesterday’s ceremony is part of a growing recognition of the roles blacks have played in shaping America’s history. Until recently, America’s history often focused only on famous figures, he said, and not on the “common” people (Krishnamurthy 1999).

This “family celebration” has not become an annual event; however, members of the family, believed to be from the Pennsylvania area, periodically have visited the Park (interviews, 2006). Scholars have also raised questions about the links between the Wills family and Augustine Washington, as the Bowden genealogical records are ambiguous.

Another “Washington” connection has also been posited by the descendants of West Ford, an enslaved African American who was born to a mulatto slave woman named Venus, on the Bushfield Plantation in Westmoreland County, the property of John Augustine Washington and his wife Hannah in 1784 or 1785. George Washington is said to have visited Bushfield frequently between 1785 and 1791, and West Ford attended him during his stay. Hannah Bushrod Washington bequeathed West Ford’s mother, Venus, his grandmother Jenny, and his younger sister Bettey to her grandson, Richard Henry Lee Washington.

After Martha Washington’s death in 1802, West Ford moved to Mount Vernon with Bushrod Washington, son of John Augustine Washington, then the owner. West Ford was given his freedom in 1805 or 1806 in accordance with instructions in Hannah Bushrod’s will. Subsequently, West Ford served as an overseer at Mount Vernon, and his children were educated in the Plantation’s school house along with Washington family children. Ford and his descendants served as “tomb guards” for Washington’s tomb at Mount Vernon. Bushrod Washington had deeded land to West Ford, the properties now part of the historic African American community known as Gum Springs. In 1863, the ailing Ford was brought back to Mount Vernon, and cared for by the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association. Scholars at Mount Vernon suggest that West Ford and his wife were interred in a cemetery set aside for Washington family slaves, a cemetery still in use until the 1880s. Stories concerning West Ford’s ancestry, particularly the possibility that he was fathered by George Washington, have been part of Ford’s family history for many generations. Some of these stories recently have been collected in a book by Ford descendant Lynda Allen Bryant (2004). The controversy concerning West Ford’s ancestry is similar to that surrounding the Bowdens. Claims that George Washington himself fathered West Ford have been disputed on a number of grounds, and diligent research has turned up no evidence to support this claim. Mrs. Bryant has not attempted to contact park staff, and no known links exist between Ford family descendants and Westmoreland County African Americans.

Other African American families on the Northern Neck, such as the descendants of Wesley Payne of Stratford Hall, have better documented connections to local plantations and plantation owners. Lois Johnson coordinated her family reunion there for about two hundred relatives (Johnson 2001). The family oral history tradition links

its roots to enslaved people who came to the plantation with Thomas Lee in the mid to late-1700s (Ohrmundt 2001).

Although these efforts to establish ties to prominent historical figures have been controversial, they represent an important trend, part of the new emphasis on American history from an African American point of view. Like other branches of critical historiography, these efforts dramatize and emphasize the ambiguities of the African American past. As Roberta Samuel has argued, GWB is a place where such histories can be given serious treatment. Her recommendations and others are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATION #1

The unique relationship between the park, its staff, and the park's neighbors is a fragile one, and mechanisms need to be developed to maintain continuity with subsequent generations. Therefore, the park might consider

- a. Creating new ways to engage park neighbors in positive relationships, to reestablish the sense of rapport that was so important to the park's development. Conflicts over land management may be alleviated if neighbors have a sense that they are valued for their experience, and are consulted on a variety of issues relating to the park. Perhaps a "Park Neighbors Association" might be established, which encourages historical, interpretive, and commemorative activities distinct to the park.

RECOMMENDATION #2

For some of the reasons noted in the report, the histories of African Americans and Native Americans with historic ties to GWB and its environs are far less well documented than those of European Americans. This makes it difficult to establish their ties to park properties, and in some cases makes them reluctant to work with ethnographers who are not also members of their communities. Therefore:

- a. The park might consider funding pilot research projects aimed at working collaboratively with African American and Native Americans with historic ties the Northern Neck to explore their nineteenth- and early twentieth-century histories. Representatives of the Patawomeke and Rappahannock communities, as well as African American leaders in Westmoreland County have expressed interest in such programs.

RECOMMENDATION #3

As noted in the previous chapter, the history and nature of enslavement and of post-war tenant farming could be told at GWB. Therefore, the park might consider:

- a. Expanding its “difficult” history offerings. Although slavery and the dispossession of Native Americans are addressed in some interpretive programs at National Parks, “Tenancy” and the Depression are topics that affect landscape and memory as well. All of these topics could benefit from oral history research.
- b. Pursuing research on the transitional period after slavery was ended on the Northern Neck, as the members of the African American community became land-owners, tenant farmers, and established settlements and enclaves within the region. Extensive documentary sources are available to assess African American land holdings during this period, and additional genealogical work can be done as well. This research may help to identify additional African American families who had ties to park properties.
- c. Several people interviewed suggested that GWB has and might in the future play an important role in encouraging African American centered activities, including special exhibits, musical events, and by providing more access for social gatherings and church groups. African American civic organizations might also find the park a useful place to meet (interviews with Ywone Edwards-Ingram, 2006). Some interviewees also suggested that the park advertise its events more widely, and that regular communication about such events with African American civic leaders and church groups would be helpful.

RECOMMENDATION #4

The Park has done extensive work on its own properties, but the park’s history cannot adequately be told without including information about the surrounding properties. Although an “Adjacent Land Survey” was conducted in 1987, this report included no social or ethnohistorical data. Therefore, the park should consider

- a. Conducting a “social geography” study for the park and environs, expanding on the material collected in Chapter Six.
- b. The Social Geography might also include further research into the landholdings of the other branches of the Washington family who remained on the Northern Neck in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

RECOMMENDATION #5

Several of those interviewed regret the loss of the living farm at GWB. Therefore, the park might consider:

- a. Expanding living history offerings at the park. These could also be a way to include demonstrations and programs that highlight Native American and African American life, as representatives of both communities have requested.

RECOMMENDATION #6

Life history research begun in this report would well reward further effort. Therefore, the park might consider:

- a. Conducting further oral history research with a special focus on the African Americans living near the park.
- b. Hiring Lawrence Latane III, a Washington family descendant, park neighbor, and professional journalist, to write a personal history of his family for use by the Park.

RECOMMENDATION #7

The Muse family history is less well researched than that of the Washington family. Therefore, the park might consider:

- a. Participating in a Muse family reunion to request further information and assistance in researching the family.

RECOMMENDATION #8

Further exploration of the maritime trades and practices of the upper Northern Neck would place the activities of park residents and neighbors in the larger riverine and estuarine context of the region. This research, as discussed in Chapter Seven, would also serve to illuminate further links between African American, Native American and European American peoples and communities. Therefore, the park might consider:

- a. Developing a “riverine” survey, with interviews focused on maritime activities, and historical research devoted to any maritime connections the Washington family may have had.

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**APPENDIX A: PARK RESOURCES AND THE PEOPLE WHO
ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THEM, CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF SUCH RESOURCES, AND APPLICABLE REFERENCES**

RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH NATIVE AMERICANS

Archeological Resources

Site Name	Type	Reference
44WM024	Camp/shell midden	CWF 1999:48
44WM089	Camp/shell midden	CWF 1999:48
44WM091	Camp/shell midden	CWF 1999:48
44WM185	Camp/shell midden	CWF 1999:48
44WM187	Camp/farmstead	CWF 1999:48
44WM204	Late Woodland camp	CWF 1999:76
44WM205	Late Woodland camp	CWF 1999:80
44WM218	Farmstead	CWF 1999:83
44WM250	Camp	CWF 1999:49
44WM251	Camp/midden	CWF 1999:49
44WM255	Camp	CWF 1999:49
44WM256	Camp	CWF 1999:49
44WM257	Contact Period native farmstead	CWF 1999:99
44WM259	Camp	CWF 1999:49
44WM261	Camp	CWF 1999:49
44WM261	Hunting/fishing camp	CWF 1999:103
44WM264	Burial ground	CWF 1999:85
44WM266	Late Woodland	CWF 1999:108
44WM270	Late Woodland shell midden	CWF 1999:112
44WM272	Late Woodland	CWF 1999:116

Ethnographic Resources

Category	Type	Reference
Fish	Perch, bass, menhaden, eel, mummichog, Atlantic silverside	Atkinson 2005:32
Game	White tail seer, brown bear, raccoons, opossum, muskrat, beaver, wild turkey, migratory fowl	Rountree 1990:5
Grasses	Goosefoot, pigweed, reeds	Gilmore et al. 2001:169
Nuts/seeds	Hickory, walnut, chestnut, chinquapin, beech	Rountree 1990:5
Shellfish	Oyster	CWF 1999: 15-16
Tubers	Tuckahoe	Rountree 1990:5

Ethnographic Landscapes

Type	Location	Reference
River terraces	Confluences of the Potomac, Aquia Creek, Potomac Creek, Pope's Creek	Potter 1993:153
Seasonal camps	Shell middens, fishing camps	Potter 1993:153
Village locations	Villages and family farmsteads	CWF 1999:16
Wetlands		OCULUS 1999:D, DI Maps

RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS

Archeological Resources

Site Name	Type	Reference
44WM089	Slave quarter	Gilmore et al.1999:1
44WM218	Slave quarter	Gilmore et al.1999:1
44WM272	Slave quarter	Gilmore et al.1999:1

Ethnographic Resources

Category	Example(s)	Reference
Medicinal plants	Hartshorn	Gilmore et al.1999:98

Ethnographic Landscapes

Category	Example(s)	Reference
Agricultural fields		Gilmore et al.1999:108
Burial sites		CWF 1999:85
Slave quarters/compounds		Gilmore et al.1999:108
Tenant farms, African American presence	Graveyard, activity areas	CWF 1999:130
Work locations	Barns, scullery, kitchen, mills, laundry, weaving rooms	Gilmore et al.1999:92
Worship sites	?	?

RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH THE WASHINGTON ERA

Archeological/Architectural Resources

Site Name	Type	Reference
Cedar Grove		OCULUS 1999:D, DI Maps
Henry Brooks house	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Abbingdon/Washington house	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Anderson J/Washington	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Muse House site	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Tobacco shed	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Fencing	Domestic site	OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Bridges' Creek Landing		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Historic farmsteads	Seventeenth-century English homesteads	CWF 1999:130

Ethnographic Landscapes

Category	Example(s)	Reference
Burial grounds		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Farmlands		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Pasture		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Planting fields		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Roads, ditches		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Wharfs, landings		OCULUS 1999:D, DI
Woodlands		OCULUS 1999:D, DI

RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH PARK NEIGHBORS

Archeological/Architectural Resources

Site Name	Reference
Duck Hall house site	OCULUS 1999:F
Memorial Mansion	Hatch 1969, Bruggeman 2005
Muse Family house	OCULUS 1999:E,EI Gilmore et al.2001:118
Fred Muse house	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Harry Muse house	OCULUS 1999:I Map
R. J. Muse house	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Raymond Washington site	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Outbuildings	OCULUS 1999:E,EI
Dairy	OCULUS 1999:E,EI
Kitchen buildings	OCULUS 1999:E,EI
Spring house	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Tobacco shed	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Farm roads	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Ornamental plantings	OCULUS 1999:I Map
Granite monument	OCULUS 1999:F
Wharf at Bridges' Creek	OCULUS 1999:I Map

Ethnographic Resources

Category	Example(s)/Location	Reference
Duckbill		Interviews
Eels, crabs, fish	In the Potomac and along Pope's Creek	Interviews
Medicinal plants	Sassafras, peach tree leaf	Interviews
Riparian resources in general	Reeds, etc., for subsistence uses, and markers of identity	Interviews
White oak saplings	For eel baskets	Interviews
Wild turkeys	For bone parts and feathers	Interviews

Ethnographic Landscapes

Category	Example(s)	Reference
Agricultural fields, meadows		OCULUS 1999:F Interviews
Burial grounds		OCULUS 1999:F
Duck blinds, trapping locations		Bruggeman 2005
Estuaries, marshlands, riverviews		Interviews
Fencing, ditches, hedgerows		OCULUS 1999:F
Garden plots, kitchen gardens		OCULUS 1999:F
Ice pond		OCULUS 1999:F
Landings, wharves		OCULUS 1999:F
Memorial landscapes		Bruggeman 2005, OCULUS 1999
Woodlands		OCULUS 1999:F Interviews

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED FOR THIS PROJECT

Interviews conducted by Ywone Edwards-Ingram with African American residents in Montross and King George between March and September, 2006:

- Mary W. Dixon
- Minister Lester Harvey
- Mary J. Lane
- Charles Johnson
- Elnora Johnson
- Lois Johnson
- Reverend Henry Lee
- Roberta Samuel

Interviews conducted by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz with Patawomeck Tribal members who wished to remain anonymous took place:

June 2006: Stafford County
July 2006: Stafford County
August 2006: Potomac Creek, Stafford County
September 2006: Fredericksburg and College of William & Mary

Interviews conducted by Kathleen J. Bragdon, March 2006-July, 2007:

- Virginia Clapp
- Ellen Gouldman
- Betty Horner
- Clay Horner
- Mr. Charles Johnson
- Reverend James Johnson
- Mrs. Naomi Johnson
- James Latane

- Lawrence Latane III
- Dal Mallory
- Roberta Samuel
- Dwight Storke
- John Storke
- Larry Trombello
- Larry Muse
- Neva Wright Muse
- Janice Muse Frye
- Henry Elliot

The project team also made use of interviews conducted by Seth Bruggeman, members of the OCULUS team, and the Works Progress Administration.

APPENDIX C: EXTRACTS FROM HENRY SPELMAN'S RELATION OF VIRGINIA

From *Captain John Smith's Works, 1608-1631*. Edward Arber, ed.

And therefore first, concerning their gods, you must understand that for the most part they worship the devil, which the conjurers, who are their priests, can make appear unto them at their pleasure. Yet, nevertheless, in every country they have a several image whom they call their god. As with the Great Pawetan. He hath an image called **cakeres** which most commonly standeth at Yaughtawnoone or at Oropikes in a house for that purpose. . . In the Patomeck's country they have another god whom they call Quioquascacke; and unto their images they offer beads and copper, if at any time they want rain or have too much. And though they observe no day to worship their god but upon necessity, yet once in the year their priests, which are their conjurers, with the men, women, and children, do go into the woods, where their priests makes a great circle of fire in the which, after many observances in their conjurations, they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be given to their god, if he will appear unto them, and show his mind whom he desire. . . After the bodies which are offered are consumed in the fire, and their ceremonies performed, the men depart merrily, the women weeping.

Of the country of Virginia

The Country is full of wood in some parts, and water they have plentiful. They have marish ground, and small fields for corn, and other grounds whereon their deer, goats, and stags feedeth. There be in this country lions, bears, wolves, foxes, musk cats, hares, flying squirrels and other squirrels being all gray like conies, great store of fowl (only peacocks and common hens wanting), fish in abundance whereon they live most part of the summertime.

Of their towns & buildings

Places of habitation they have but few, for the greatest town have not above 20 or 30 houses in it. Their building are made like an oven with a little hole to come in at, but more spacious within, having a hole in the midst of the house for smoke to go out at. The king's houses are both broader and longer than the rest, having many dark windings and turnings before any come where the king is. But in that time when they go a-hunting, the women goes to a place appointed before to build houses for their husbands to lie in at night, carrying mats with them to cover their houses withal.

Their manner of marrying

The custom of the country is to have many wives, and to buy them, so that he which have most copper and beads may have most wives. For if he taketh liking of any woman, he makes love to her, and seeketh to her father or kinsfolk to set what price he must pay for her; which being one agreed on, the kindred meet and make good cheer. And when the sum agreed on be paid, she shall be delivered to him for his wife.

The ceremony is thus: The parents brings their daughter between them. For the man goes not unto any place to be married, but the woman is brought to him where he dwelleth. At her coming to him, her father or chief friends joins the hands together; and then the father or chief friend of the man bringeth a long string of beads, and measuring his arm's length thereof, doth break it over the hands of those that are to be married, while their hands be joined together; and gives it unto the woman's father of him that brings her.

How they name their Children

After the mother is delivered of her child, within some few days after, the kinsfolk and neighbors, being entreated thereunto, comes unto the house where, being assembled, the father takes the child in his arms and declares that his name shall be. As he then call him, so his name is. Which done, the rest of the day is spent in feasting and dancing.

Their Manner of visiting the Sick, with the Fashion of their Burial if they die

When any be sick among them, their priests comes unto the party, whom he layeth on the ground upon a mat. And having a bowl of water set between him and the sick party, and a rattle by it, the priest, kneeling by the sick man's side, dips his hand into the bowl, which taking up full of water, he sups into his mouth, spouting it out again upon his own arms and breast. Then takes he the rattle. And with one hand shakes that, and with the other he beats his breast, making a great noise; which having done he easily riseth. And being now got up, he leisurely goeth about the sick man, shaking his rattle very softly over all his body. And with his hand he stroketh the grieved parts of the sick. Then doth he besprinkle him with water, mumbling certain words over him; and so for that time leave him.

But if he be wounded, after these ceremonies done unto him, he with a little flintstone gasheth the wound, making it to tun and bleed; which he setting his mouth unto it sucks out, and then applies a certain root beaten to powder unto the sore.

If he dies his burial is thus: There is a scaffold built about 3 or 4 yards high from the ground, and the dead body wrapped in a mat is brought to the place where, when he is laid thereon, the kinsfolk falls a-weeping and make great sorrow. . . This finished, they go to the party's house, where they have meat given them; which being eaten, all the rest of the day they spend in singing and dancing, using then as much mirth as before sorrow. Moreover, if any of the kindreds' bodies which have been laid on the scaffold be so consumed as nothing is left but bones, they take those bones from the scaffold, and putting them into a new mat, hangs them in their housed, where they continue while their house falleth, and then they are buried in the ruins of the house. What goods the party leaveth is divided among his wives and children. But his house he giveth to the wife he liketh best for life; after her death, unto what child he most loveth.

The Justice and Government

For the time I was with the Patomecke I saw 5 executed: 4 for murther of a child, id est, the mother and two other that did the fact with her, and a 4 for concealing it as he passed by; and one for robbing a traveler of copper and beads. For to steal their neighbor's corn or copper is death; or to lie one with another's wife is death, if he be taken in the manner.

The manner of setting their corn with the gathering and dressing

They make most commonly a place about their houses to set their corn, which, if there be much wood in that place, they cut down the great trees some half a hard about the ground. And the smaller they burn at the root, pulling a good part of bark from them to make them die. And in this place they dig many holes which, before the English brought them scavels and spades, they used to make with a crooked piece of wood, being scraped on both sides in fashion of a gardener's paring iron.

They put into these holes ordinarily 4 or 5 kernels of their wheat and 2 beans like French beans, which, when the wheat do grow up, having a straw as big as a cane reed, the beans run up thereon like our hops on poles. The ear of the wheat is of great bigness in length and compass, and yet, for all the greatness of it, every stalk hath most commonly some four or five ears on it.

Now after the gathering, they lay it upon mats a good thickness in the sun to dry. . . and when it is sufficiently weathered, they pile it up in their houses, daily as occasion serveth wringing the ears in pieces between their hands; and so rubbing out their corn do put it to a great basket which taketh up the best part of some of their houses. And all this is chiefly the women's work. For the men do only hunt to get skins in winter, and do sew, or dress, them in summer.

The armor and weapon with discipline in war

As for armor or discipline in war, they have not any. The weapons they use for offense are bows and arrows, with a weapon like a hammer, and their **tomahaucks**; for defense which are shields made of the bark of a tree, and hanged on their left shoulder to cover that side as they stand forth to shoot.

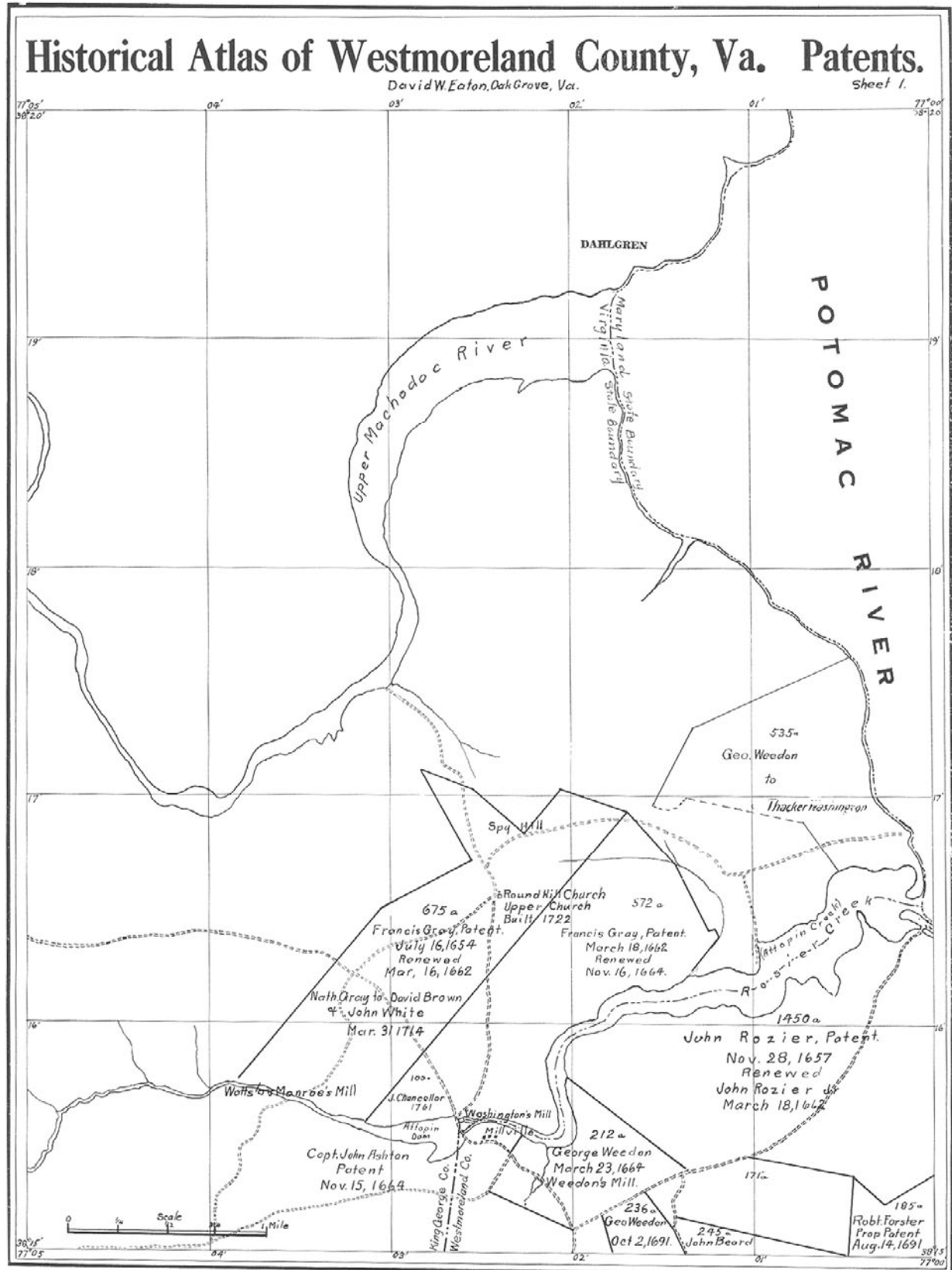
The pastimes

When they meet at feasts or otherwise, they use sports much like to ours here in England, as their dancing, which is like our Derbyshire hornpipe.

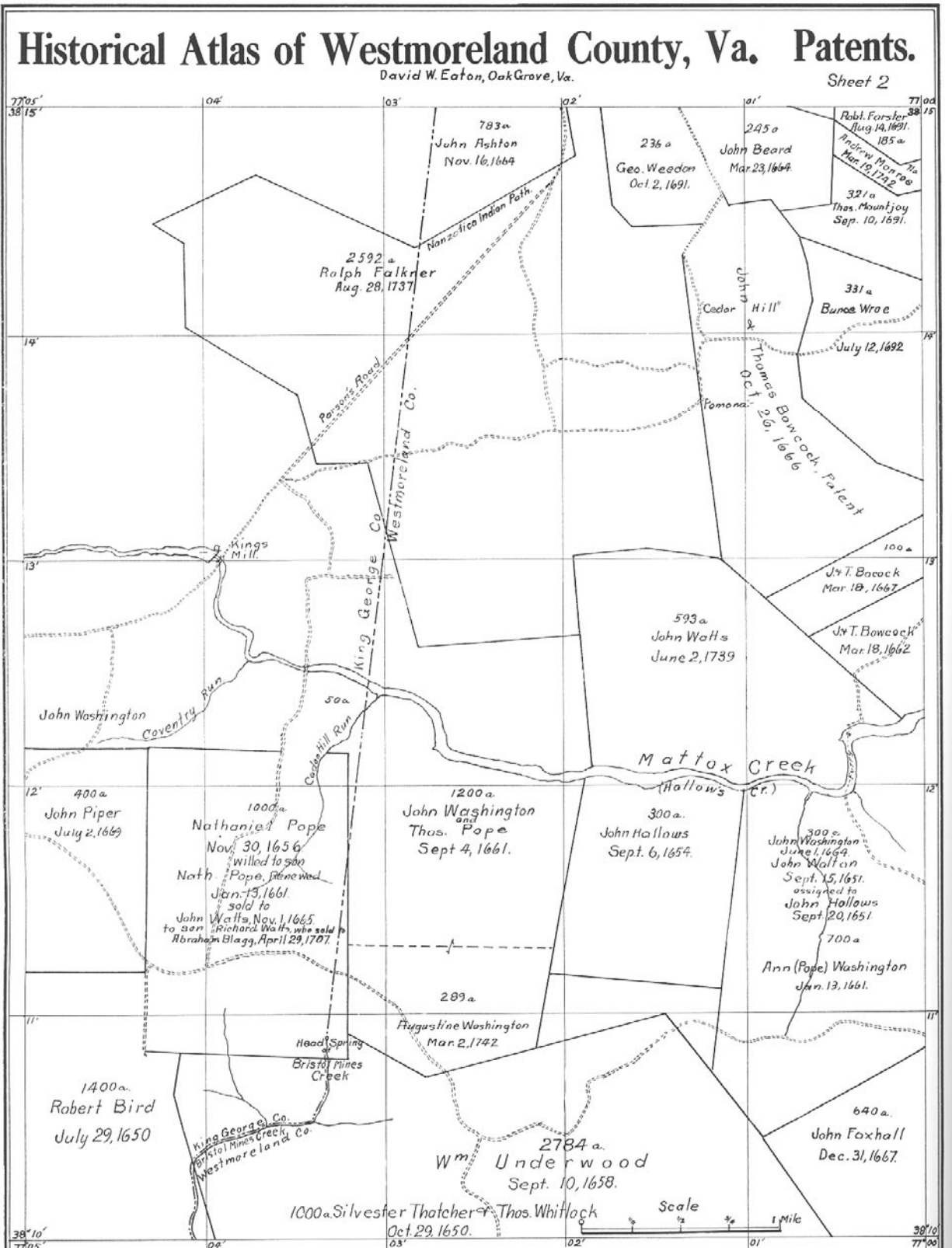
They use, beside, football play, which women and young boys do much play at, the men never. They make their goals as ours, only they never fight nor pull one another down.

The men play with a little ball, letting it fall out of their hand, and striketh it with the top of his foot. And he that can strike the ball furthest wins that they play for.

APPENDIX D: PATENT MAPS



Map D-1: Location of the Washington Mill. After Eaton 1942:59.



Map D-2: Washington lands on Mattox Creek. After Eaton 1942:60.

APPENDIX E: BIOGRAPHIES OF LAWRENCE AND AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

From George Washington Birthplace National Monument Website (www.nps.org/gewa), 2008⁴²

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON HISTORY, 1659 TO 1698

First Washington born in Virginia

Lawrence Washington was born in 1659 at Mattox Creek. This land was the wedding gift property to his father and mother, by Lawrence's Grandfather Pope. Lawrence was the first child born in the colonies of America to a Washington family seeking a new life and fortune following the English Civil War. His father John Washington's purchase of 5,000 acres of land and his appointments to county and colony leadership positions were in keeping with the family's English royalist allegiances. A prominent Washington name had been established in Virginia. Eventually Lawrence moved with his younger brother and sister John and Ann to their father's Bridges Creek home with their parents when Lawrence was 5 years old. It was here that Lawrence's childhood was spent within a few hundred yards of the scenic and well navigated 5 mile wide Potomac River. His childhood home was secluded enough from the river to hide the family home from marauding pirates and horrendous storms. The late 1600s in Virginia was still somewhat rough and untamed. Nonetheless, the Washington family had established a comfortable home and modest farm/plantation with nearby neighbors in which to rely upon in times of need and social engagements.

Lawrence travels to England

Lawrence Washington most likely traveled to England in his early to mid-teenage years. Oliver Cromwell and the parliamentary revolt had failed nearly 10 years prior, the commonwealth experiment had failed, and the King had returned to power. England once again had enjoyed the familiar monarchy that had made it a world leading power. The Washingtons still remained royalists and young Lawrence most likely traveled to the Washington ancestral home in either Sulgrave, Parish Purleigh or the Parish of Littled Braxted, Essex. John Washington sent his sons to Britain to receive a proper education and refinement befitting proper Englishmen. In Lawrence's absence John and Ann faced the troubles at home with Bacon's rebellion and the invasion of their home by Bacon sympathizers. Lawrence unfortunately would never see his father or mother again. Ann and John died in 1675 and 1677 before his return to Virginia.

Returning to Mattox Creek, Virginia and legal troubles

Lawrence Washington returned from a lengthy stay in England in 1679. The homesite of his childhood was now the property of his brother John. He found his parents buried behind the

⁴² Note: As of May 2009, these pages are no longer posted on the GWB website.

Bridges Creek home in the recently established family cemetery. His father had nonetheless provided for Lawrence by giving him perhaps the largest and most valuable Mattox Creek property. Lawrence returned to his birth home site a few miles from brother John at Bridges Creek to establish his new home. The historic record is scant regarding Lawrence, but review of the Westmoreland county court records indicates his court dispositions were frequent and higher in percentage than his father's. Unfortunately, Lawrence was unable to attend the execution of his father's will and was left with civil legal problems that would plague him the rest of his life. He needed to settle claims by caretakers of the Mattox Creek property during his absence including paying \$1,800 in tobacco to Captain John Lord for "great charge and trouble" in handling the estate of the late John Washington. In his later years Lawrence would face property law disputes regarding the only property he would purchase in his life - the Lisson estate opposite the creek from brother John's Bridges Creek home. Prior to the age of 20, Lawrence seemingly had led a comfortable and charmed life. For the remainder of his 18 years of life he would almost appear to lead the opposite.

Modest public service

Lawrence's public service as a member of the Westmoreland Court, and a Burgess in the Virginia assembly seem modest, especially if compared to his father John's service. Lawrence did obtain the rank of Captain in the militia, and did make two appearance in the House of Burgesses. Perhaps Lawrence never could dedicate himself to the level of public service of his father due to his ever present legal problems concerning his father's estate. Lawrence may not have been driven to overcome large obstacles that his father faced such as the English Civil War, the sudden loss of wealth and position and moving to a young colony besieged by sometimes violent Indians. Lawrence did serve as the high sheriff of the county with his younger brother John serving as his under sheriff (deputy). Interestingly this was in a period of colonial America when dunking stools were used a form of punishment as noted by Westmoreland County records. There is some indication that Lawrence at times displayed openly careless attention to his duties when he failed to keep his office current on the English statutes he was appointed to enforce. He was advanced funding to secure copies of Parliament, but failed to obtain the updated copies and following his death, his estate was sued for compensation.

A late marriage, a young family and an early death

Lawrence married relatively late at the age of 27 to Mildred Warner the daughter of Augustine Warner. The two began to raise a family with John born in 1690, Augustine born in 1694 and Mildred born in 1696. Lawrence had developed some savvy business dealings with companies in England and began to see some chance of economic success with less frustrations in civil law suits. He purchased the modest 400 acres Daniel Lission Estate across the creek from his brother John's Bridges Creek home. It seems as if he was on the eve of establishing his family in a new location with the opportunity for enhanced prosperity similar to his father's move and successes. All of this ended when Lawrence took ill and died at the relatively young age of 38. Mildred Washington was left three with small, fatherless children. Augustine Washington (father of George Washington - the father of the father of our country) was only 4 years old when his father Lawrence died.

Reflections on Lawrence Washington

Lawrence Washington is unique in the paternal lineage of the Great George Washington. He almost falls into the shadows of greatness when compared to his father John Washington who

showed much success in land acquisition, and civil office. He also lacks the historic attention of his entrepreneurial son Augustine. Augustine was the “father of the father of our country” and therefore receives an inherent amount of study. Lawrence may be an example of how a child born into comfort with accessible parents, who is not faced with early adversity, would therefore not be as compelled to make big strides to overcome misfortune and consequently make a splash in history. His relatively early death also cut short his chances. Nonetheless Lawrence did obtain civil office befitting his family name and he was on the eve of establishing a comfortable family estate on the edge of what is now George Washington Birthplace National Monument. Ultimately, without Lawrence Washington, the great George Washington would not have been possible.

AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON AND HIS SON GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1694 TO 1743

Born into a an uncertain world

Augustine Washington was born at Mattox Creek, in Virginia, in 1694. Mattox Creek was the property Augustine’s successful and seemingly energetic grand father John who received the property as a wedding gift and upon his death willed the land to Augustine’s father Lawrence. Young Augustine was faced with tragedy at the tender age of 4 when his father Lawrence died leaving Augustine’s mother Mildred Warner Washington a widow with three small children. Mildred married shortly thereafter to George Gale who returned to his home in Whitehaven, Cumberland, England with his new wife and step children. George intended to keep the children in England, and it seemed certain that Augustine Washington (*father of the father of “our country” George Washington*) would not return to America in his formative years, if ever. George Gale sought proper schooling for his step children and enrolled them in the prestigious Appleby School in Westmoreland, England. Life in England seemed very promising for young Augustine Washington when he was faced with a second tragedy. His mother Mildred died in 1701 only three years after his father Lawrence’s death. Augustine at age 8 had already endured the loss of both parents.

Finding stability in Virginia

Lawrence Washington provided that upon the death of he and his wife, his estate should revert to and be managed by his first cousin John Washington of Chotank, King George County (*then Stafford County*) Virginia. Upon learning of the death of his cousin’s wife, John dispatched George Gale and the Courts of Stafford County, petitioning for the legal adoption of Young Augustine and his older brother and younger sister under the terms of Lawrence Washington’s Will. The courts found in favor of John and George Gale relinquished custody of Augustine. In 1706 Augustine Washington’s life changed abruptly again. At the age of 10 he was forced to give up the comforts of Appleby School and return to the rurals of Virginia and Chotank. Yet it was this move to Chotank that gave Augustine perhaps his first element of stability in what heretofore had been a somewhat turbulent and tragic childhood. He spent the rest his childhood and teen years at Chotank and in 1715 at the age of 21 set out on his own.

Augustine moves to his father's property

Augustine Washington as a young adult began to show the vigor and interest that his grandfather John had displayed. At 21 Augustine married Jane Butler in 1715. Jane brought to the marriage 1,300 acres of inherited land. Augustine as young adult was already in possession of more land than his father ever achieved. He established his new home on the property that his father Lawrence had only started to develop at the time of his death. This was the parcel known as the Lisson Estate which was immediately across Bridges Creek from Augustine's grand father John's home, later his Uncle John's home, and finally the family cemetery plot where Augustine's father Lawrence had been buried 17 years earlier.

Augustine and Jane began their family at the Lisson place on Bridges Creek when a baby named Lawrence was born in 1718. Their first child Butler had died in infancy in 1716. Augustine purchased another parcel of land approximately a mile from the Lisson home site. This 180 acres of property he named Popes Creek Plantation. He purchased the property from Joseph Abbingtion who had established a modest two room home with a cellar. In the early 1720s Augustine owned both parcels of property and it is uncertain in which home he chose to reside at with his family. A second son named Augustine, Jr. (Austin) was born at one of the two sites in 1720. Augustine probably chose to settle at Popes Creek due to its enhanced navigation and accessibility. Bridges creek especially near the Lisson property was noted as being a marsh. Perhaps the navigable quality of Bridges Creek had diminished in the 60 years since John Washington had first settled on the creek.

Starting a life a Popes Creek Plantation

Augustine Washington officially moved to Popes Creek in 1726 with his wife Jane Butler Washington and his two sons Lawrence and Austin. This was an ideal place to access the large ships on the Potomac River via flat bottom boats and other small craft. Augustine had great success growing tobacco. England had an insatiable appetite for tobacco and merchants paid top prices for it. Augustine used a keen sense of investment and speculation and began to purchase as much land as he could obtain in the area. Soon he has amassed 1,000 acres between his original Lisson property and his new Popes Creek property. He purchased his grandfather John Washington's Bridges Creek property and maintained the Washington family's cemetery. In this period of great entrepreneurial success, Augustine was besieged by the death of his wife Jane Butler in 1729. Augustine had sent Lawrence and Austin to the somewhat prestigious Appleby School and at the age of 30 found himself living a comfortable but solitary life.

A second Popes Creek family and the birth of George Washington

Three years after Jane Butler's death, Augustine again found a bride. He married Mary Ball of Lancaster, Virginia. Mary Ball would bring even more property into an already land rich family. The new couple settled in at the Popes Creek home that Augustine had purchased from Joseph Abbingtion. On February 22, 1732, Mary Ball Washington would give birth to a baby boy whom she named George. Little did Augustine and Mary Ball Washington know that they had just witnessed a major change in the history of world. The child they brought forward on that cold winters day would be recognized more than any other person in the creation of the first free republic since the demise of Roman Republic approximately 2,000 years prior.

That innocent little baby would grow up to defeat global tyranny and present the opportunity for common men and women to decide how they should be governed. Mary Ball was pregnant almost immediately after George Washington's birth and in early 1733 she gave birth to a little

girl named Betty. Mary Ball became pregnant a third time and in late 1733 gave birth to George's little brother Samuel. Augustine added only a small addition to his modest home at Popes Creek. His goals and ambitions would lead him away from Popes Creek. He entrusted his plantation to an overseer and moved 70 miles up river.

The Augustine Washington family moves to Hunting Creek

In 1735, Augustine Washington established a second modest home on the Potomac River at Hunting Creek. This is the property his Grand Father John had purchased back in 1674. It was at this plantation that he continued his farming. Augustine and Mary Ball added two more children to their family at Hunting Creek with the births of John Augustine in 1735 and Charles in 1738. While Augustine, Mary and their five small children resided at Hunting Creek, Augustine's oldest son Lawrence returned from England and stayed with his father's new family. The child George met and was awed by his adult half-brother Lawrence for the first time. Lawrence had completed his formal English education and was ready to establish his own home. Augustine Washington prepared his family for a third move. This time the family relocated across from the small town of Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock River between Popes Creek and Hunting Creek. Lawrence received Hunting Creek as a gift from his father with its modest home. Lawrence established a large Georgian mansion and dependency on the property and gave the plantation and name befitting its grandeur. He named the property after the famed English Admiral Vernon with whom he had served during England's war with Spain. Mount Vernon with its magnificent home had been established.

Relocation to Strother Plantation across from Fredericksburg

Augustine purchased the Strother Plantation and its home on the Rappahannock River in 1738. The Rappahannock River, although not as wide as the Potomac River, was still a viable artery for commerce. The town of Fredericksburg was emerging as a thriving port of commerce as well. Augustine used his keen entrepreneurial skills by investing as a part owner of three blast iron furnaces - the closest of which was Accokeek. The Strother plantation (*later known as Ferry Farm Plantation*) was equally located between all three furnaces. Iron was desperately needed by England in its quest to defeat Spain and France in this new era of imperialism and global conquest. Augustine knew production of pig iron would be very profitable for he and his King.

Augustine Washington's son receives Popes Creek Plantation

In 1742 Augustine Washington, Jr., (Austin) returns home to Virginia from the Appleby School in England. Austin like his older brother Lawrence was received by his father Augustine now as a man and a gentleman. Austin probably met his father and his 5 new half-brothers and sister at Strother Plantation. It was at this juncture that Austin learns of his new gift - his father's Popes Creek Plantation. Austin takes ownership of the plantation and enjoys 20 years of success and wealth with a family at the location. History is not clear as to which home he chose to reside within. One interpretation is that he remained in his father's modest home for 18 years before even expanding the two room dwelling. This is very hard to believe especially compared to Lawrence's construction of a Georgian mansion at Mount Vernon. A second interpretation may be that Austin Washington did in fact build a Georgian mansion not unlike Lawrence's home on the exact spot of the modern day Washington Birthplace Memorial House and perhaps not unlike the 1932 Memorial House. If this is the case, he kept the first home (the birth home of George Washington) perhaps as a guest home or servant's quarters.

Augustine Washington's final days

Augustine Washington's ambitions and achievements were very impressive. He amassed a tremendous amount of land and wealth. He carefully arranged for his sons to settle in nice plantation homes in splendid locations. His third plantation (Ferry Farm) he would give his third son - George Washington. Perhaps Augustine had planned to send George to Appleby School in England just as he had done for the two older sons. If George was destined to be a proper Englishman, his future was abruptly cut short in 1743 when Augustine Washington died from a chill not long after being surprised by a sudden downpour of rain while riding his horse. At the age of 49 Augustine left Mary Ball with 5 children. George Washington at age 11 was the oldest son and probably became the "man of the house".

Mary Ball Washington carries on

Mary Ball continued to live at Stother Plantation across from Fredericksburg. She was assisted by her teenage son George for another 4 years. She never chose to remarry. In time George Washington became the owner of Strother Plantation. He sold the property and with the money he made from the sale, arranged for a home to be completed for his mother. Mary Ball Washington lived the rest of her life in a very comfortable home with ornate gardens in the emerging town of Fredericksburg next to her daughter Betty's plantation and estate. Betty had married Fielding Lewis, a successful businessman, and together they had built the grand Kenmore mansion. Mary Ball Washington lived to the age of 81, surviving her husband Augustine by over 40 years. She remained a Tory and chose not to embrace the revolutionary cause of the American Colonies. Mary Ball died in 1789 on the eve of her son George Washington's inauguration as the first President of the United States of America.

APPENDIX F: A SAMPLE OF PRIMARY SOURCES FROM WESTMORELAND COUNTY

From Library of Virginia microfilm reel nos. 54-61

Orders 1705-21 (reel 54), 1721-31 (reel 55), 1731-39 (reel 56), 1739-43 & 1743-47 (reel 57), 1747-50, 1750-52 (reel 58), 1752-55 & 1755-58 (reel 59), 1758-61 & 1761-64 (reel 60), 1776-86 & 1787-90 (reel 61)

WESTMORELAND COUNTY, VIRGINIA COURT ORDERS, 1705-1787

ORDERS 1705-21

30 October 1705

p.3

Nathl Pope Gould one of the Churchwardens of Washington Parish acknowledged an Indenture made between Andrew Munro and him the said Churchwardens of the sd parish on the one part and Burdett Ashton Gentl. of the other part of a certain Mulatto Child baptized Elizabeth born on the body of one Jane Hubbard Ordered the same bee Recorded.

8 March 1706

p.22

William Munro by his Petition to this Court shewing that the Churchwardens of Washington Parish in the said county had bound a certain Mullatto bastard child to him according to Law and that the sd child was now in the custody of the Reverend St. John Shropshire who refused to deliver the child to him the sd Munro And pray'd the Court order for the said Shropshires delivery of the sd Child to him And the sd Shropshire by Danll. McCarty his attorney humbly moves that in consideration the sd Mulatto child was born in his house on the body of one Lyddia Hilliard his Servant and that he had from the tyme of the birth of sd child which is now above the space of two whole yeares maintained the said child and was ready to give bond to save the parish harmless and indempnified of the sd Child provided it were bound to him as in right hee conceives it to bee just & equitable and prayd the sd child might bee bound to him according to Law. (Ordered that) indenture by which the sd child was bound to the sd Munro was good and effectuall in Law.

26 June 1706

p.27a to 28

arbitration between Shropshire and Munro

sd St. John Shropshire deliver unto the sd Wm Munro the sd Mulatto without any recompence for the keepeing or nurseing the Same Given under our hands this twenty Sixth day of June 1706

29 August 1706

p.37

Judgment is granted John Higgins against Thomas Goen for five hundred forty five pounds of tobacco due by bill account ordered hee pay the same with costs.

30 January 1706/7

p.44

George West an Indian bastard boy Servant to Mr. Wm Graham is adjudged thirteen years And Ordered to serve his said master according to Law.

28 May 1707

p.58

Ordered that process of capias do issue against the severall persons hereunder named commanding the Sheriff of this County

Margrett a Servt. to Calleb Butler of Washington Parish for fornication & haveing a Mulatto bastard

25 June 1707

p.59a

Ordered Mr. Danll Neale bee summoned

to bee appear at the next Court held for the County aforesaid to answer the suit of William an East India Indian servant to the sd Neale relateing to his freedom

30 July 1707

p.64

Copeley parish vs Lawler, Mary: Mary Lawler a free Christian white woman being convicted of fornication and haveing a Mulatto bastard child ordered that unless shee pay to the Churchwardens of Cople parish where the sd child was born her fine appointed by Law as is thereby directed shee be by the Churchwardens sold for five yeares and the moneys or what shee shall bee sold for to bee imployed by the Vestry to the use of the parish aforesd and it is Ordered the sd Churchwardens do bind the sd Child to be a servant untill it shall bee of thirty one yeares of age as by Law is directed.

George Elkridge Genlt. made information this Court against Mary Hipsley of the parish of Cople in this County a free Christian white woman for being guilty of unlawful coitus? with? a Negro Man and haveing a Mulatto bastard Child born on her body in the sd parish about two months ago ordered that the sheriff have her at the next Court to answer the same.

31 July 1707

p.66

Margrett _____ a white woman Servant to Caleb Butler of the parish of Washington in the County aforesd Gent. being convicted of fornication and haveing a Mulatto bastard child in her said Masters house or service Ordered that in recompence of the loss & trouble Sustained thereby Shee serve her said Master one whole yeare after her tyme by Indenture, custom or former order of Court bee expired or pay her said Master One thousand pounds of Tobacco.

Margrett _____ white servant ... after her service pay to the Churchwardens of sd parish 15 pounds or be sold for five years.

the Churchwardens of the sd parish doe bind the sd child to bee a servant till it bee thirty one years of age.

27 August 1707

p.69

Mary Hipsley of the parish of Cople in the County aforesd a free English Christian white woman was summoned to this Court to answer what should bee objected agst her on behalf of the Churchwardens of the parish of Cople aforesd concerning her being lately delivered or a Mulatto bastard child born on her body in the sd Parish of Cople about two months ago find upon Examination that the sd Mary Hipsley do immediately out into bond with good & sufficient Sureties for her appeareance at the next Court to bee held for the County aforesd to answer the same and also that she then and there have her said Supposed Mulatto child to the end it may bee enquired whether the same be a Mulatto or no.

24 September 1707

p.72

The Court haveing been lately informed that Mary Hipsley of the parish of Cople in this County a free Christian white woman two months ago was delivered of a bastard Negro or Mulatto child within the parish and County aforesd And haveing caused the sd Mary to bee summoned to appeare before us in order to her Examon? touching the same upon the consideration of the matter the crime alledged to as appeareing to bee true It is ordered that the said Mary Hipsley do immediately pay to the Churchwardens of Cople Parish aforesd for the tyme being for the use of the sd parish fifteen pounds current money of Virga.or bee by them sold for five yeares and the sd money for what she shall be sold for shall bee employd by the Vestry to the use of the sd parish

And it is also ordered the sd Churchwardens do bind the said child to bee a servant until it shall bee of thirty one yeares of age.

25 September

p.74a

Billee Indian vs Neale

William an East Indian servant to Mr. Daniel Neale moveing to this Court for his freedome & Ordered the Sheriff of this County do summon the sd Mr. Neale to be at the next Court to answer the same.

30 March 1708

p.83

Will an East India Indian late a supposed slave to Mr. Danll Neale by his Peticon to this Court setting forth that some tyme in yeare 1689 being fraudulently trappand out of his Native Country in the East Indies and thence transported to England and soon after brought into this Country and sold as a slave to Mr. Christopher Neale deceased father of his sd present Master And that hee had ever since faithfully served the sd Christopher and Daniel Notwithstanding which the sd Daniel though often demanded denied him his freedome And the sd Daniel being summoned to answer the sd complaint appeared and both parties Submitted the whole matter of the complaint to the Court All which being maturely & fully heard It is considered by the Court that the sd Will ought not to have been sold as a slave and that he is a freeman And doe therefore discharge him from all service due to the sd Christopher or Danll Neale. And further order that the said Danll Neale do forthwith pay the sd Will for bushells of Indian corn thirty shillings in mony or the value thereof in goods and one well fixt? Muskett or Fusee according to Law in that behalf relateing to Servants & together with the costs in this behalf

26 January 1708/9

p.108

Thomas Goen being bound by Recognizance to appeare at this Court to answer our Sovereinge Lady the Queen of a certaine force & rescue of a prisoner out of the custody of Wm Chandler Constable for Machotique ptomet? the day appeared to answer the same and upon examination & hearing of the matter alledged agst him the Court do sett upon him the fine or sum of twenty shillings sterl. to bee paid to our Sovereigne Lady the Queen for his sd offence and it is also ordered that the sd Thomas Goen do enter into Recognizance for his personall appeareance at the next Court to answer what may be objected agst him and in the mean tyme to bee of the good behaviour

p.108a

Westcomb vs Bryant

Sara Bryan a mulatto woman begotten by a Negro on a white woman being convicted of fornicacon by a white man & haveing a Mulatto bastard Child by a white man dureing her service in her said Masters house is Ordered to serve her sd Master the space of one whole yeare for the trouble of his house after all former tyme of service expired.

24 Feb 1708/9

p.116

Judgment is granted Edward Buss against the Estate of Phillip Brown for the sume of four hundred & two pounds of Tobacco and by Aud: Attached on a cropp of Corn & Tobacco appraised to Eight hundred pounds of Tobacco

27 April 1709

p.120

Robert Bennett produced an accot. against an Indian Servant of his called Billey whoe had run away from his sd Master's service the tyme & space of two hundred twenty two dayes and that he the said Bennett had Expended the sume of two thousand and one hundred five pounds of Tobacco in takeing upp and bringing home his said Servant for which tyme expence and charge he prayed order against the said Indian Billey for Satisfaction of the same for his Service according to Law. It is therefore considered and accordingly ordered that the aforesd Indian Billey Doe serve his said Master Robert Bennett Double the tyme of absence aforesaid which amounts to four hundred forty five days.

28 October 1709

p.132a

It is ordered that Burditt Ashton gentl. be by the Sheriff of this County Summoned to the next Court to be held for the said county to answer the Petition of Ann Burk relating to her freedom & in case he fail of the same the said Burk to be acquitted from Serveing the said Ashton for the future.

p.133a

Sara Mazingoe by her nearest Friend Edward Mazingoe by her Petition setting forth that Eliza. Booth late of this County decd. Did by her last Will & Testament give & devise to her the said Sara the Bed & furniture on which the said Eliza. then Lay four pewter dishes & six pewter? plates and appointed Thomas Grinstead Executor of her said Will who refused to pay & deliver the Legacies aforesd. Thomas Grinstead being cited to answer the Said petition appeared and said nothing in barr or preclusion thereof Whereupon It is Considered and accordingly ordered the said Thomas Grinstead Doe pay & deliver unto the said Edward Mazingoe in right of the aforesaid Sara Mazingoe the Bed & furniture and four pewter dishes and Six pewter plates aforesaid soe as aforesd by the said Elizabeth to her the said Sara Given & devised and that he pay costs.

The Petition of John Mazingoe by his nearest Friend Edward Mazingoe against Thomas Grinstead Executor of Eliza Booth decd. is Continued till the next Court for Eliza wife of the sd Edward Mazingoe to appeare what she knows in relation to the sd Petition.

Edward Mazingoe by his Petition setting forth to this Court that Eliza Booth late of this County decd. Did by her Last Will & Testament in writeing (inter alia) Give & devise to him the said Edward Five head of Cattle & five hundred pounds of Tobacco and appointed Thomas Grinstead Executor of her said Last Will who refused to pay & deliver the same to him the said Edward And the aforesaid Thomas Grinstead being cited to answer the said Petition appeared & aid that the cattle aforesaid by the sd Eliza given & devised to the aforesaid Edward was by the

aforesaid Eliza Booth in her Life tyme delivered to the said Edward Mazingoe and that he detained none from him As by his Petition he had sett forth But for that he could not make appeare that the cattle delivered was the same mentioned in the will of the said Eliza Booth to be given and devised as aforesaid and the said Edward Mazingoe haveing in open Court deposed upon the holy Evangelist that the cattle in his possession by the said Thomas said to be were by the said Eliza Booth in her Life tyme and before her Last Sickness given to him as a free deed of gift Whereupon after heareing severall arguements on both sides and mature consideration thereon the Court are of opinion that the sd Eliza Booth in her said Will intended the said Edward should have five head of cattle over & above what was by her put in his possessions aforesd, and accordingly order the sd Thomas Grinstead Doe pay & deliver to the aforesaid Edward Mazingoe Five head of Cattle and Five hundred pounds of Tobacco soe as aforesaid by the sd Eliza Given & devised And that he pay costs

22 February 1709/10

p.136a

Presentment against: Margrett servant of Mary Butler

June 1st 1710

p.143a

Ann Burk a Mulatto Servant to Burditt Ashton gentl. by her Petition setting forth that the said Ashton had and still does detaine and keep and refuseth to lett the sd Ann Goe free for which shee prayed the Court's Judgment Which being fully argued and debated by pltf and defend: It is Considered by the Court and accordingly they doe adjudge the said Ann Burk to be a Servant till she attaine the age of one and thirty yeares, Whereupon at reading the Courts order for that day the said Ann by Nathll. Pope her attorney moved in arrest of Judgment to have are heareing of the aforesaid Petition which was admitted and the Petition aforesaid accordingly ordered to be Continued.

p.143a

Ordered the psent Sheriff of this County doe take . . . Margrett a Servt. woman to Mrs. Mary Butler (being severally presented by the Grand Jury) in his Custody Soe that he have their bodyes at the next Court to be held for the said County to answer to the said presentments

p.144

The Petition of Mary Lynn on behalfe of her son Robert Hitch a Mulatto Servant to Roger Wigginton is rejected by the Court for that the said Mary could not make out the matter in the said Petn. Contained and the said Hitch ordered to serve his Master aforesaid according to indenture.

28 June 1710

p.145a

The order of last Court requireing the sheriff of this county to summon Margrett Redley presented by the Grand Jury for fornication not being complied with is continued to be performed against the next court to be held for the County aforesaid.

Edward Buss being presented by the Grand Jury for absenting from the parish Church is fined five shillings or fifty pounds

27 April 1711

p.156

Richard Kenner brought suite against Thomas Goen of the parish of Cople in the County aforesaid Labourer and declared against him for words spoke by the said Thomas against him the said Richard too his damage one hundred pounds sterl: and at a court held for the said County the 20 May 1708 The Defendant aforesaid appeared and prayed Lycence of Imparlenece till the then next Court which was granted and by Severall adjournments from thence Continued over till this day and now at this Court the defendant aforesaid being called & faileing to appear upon Mocion of the pltf Judgment is granted him Nihil dicit against the said Thomas Goen, But for that is not known to the Court what damage the pltf had sustained by meanes of the words by the Defendant aforesaid spoke as the pltf in his Declaration hath set forth It is therefore ordered that the sheriff of the county doe cause to come before her Majties. Justices at the next Court to be held for the said County ... the damage may be better known .

28 June 1711

p.162a

Ann Burk a mulatto servt. to Burditt Ashton gentl. by her Petition sett forth that the said Ashton detained her a servant and refused to lett her goe free And at a Court held for the said County the 31st day of May 1710 both pltf and defend: being present It was the judgment of this Court the said Ann Burk was a Servt. till she attained the age of thirty one yeares. Whereupon at the examining the minutes of that day the said Ann by Nathll Pope her atty moved in arrest & stay of the Court Judgment and said that the same ought not to be affirmed for that the pltf was not born under that Law produced by the Defend: but Severall years before which was admitted and Continued till the then next Court to be argued and now at this Court after Severall Continuances 7 adjournments thereof the said Ann by her said Atty. being present as alsoe the said Burditt Ashton by Danll McCarty his Atty and the whole matter being fully debated and all arguments as well for and on behalfe of the Defend: aforesaid as for & on his behalfe of the pltf being laid down And mature consideration had thereon. It is the opinion of the Court that the said Ann Burk is free and thereupon Doe discharge her from future Servitude from which Judgment the said Burditt Ashton appeales To the ninth day of the next Genl Court which is granted the appellt Entering into bond with sufficient Sureties to appeare and prosecute his sd appeale

Henry Ashton & Benjamin Berryman gentl. came into Court & joyntly & severally acknowledged themselves ... to Ann Burk before named in the sum of twenty pounds sterl. to be paid to her the said Ann if Burditt Ashton fail to appear at the next Genl Court and prosecute the appeal aforsd

28 November 1712

p.203a

Elizabeth Crane Servt: to Robert Allworthy of Cople Parish being presented and convicted of bringing forth a Mulatto Child in the sd parish. It is ordered that immediately after her tyme to

her present master is expired she by the Church Wardens of the sd parish Sold for five yeares unless shee pay her fine in this Case according to Laws in the Like Case made & provided

25 March 1713

p.205

Billy an Indian Servant to Mr. Robert Bennett Preferred here in Court his Petition against the said Bennett thereby setting forth he had fully serv'd his full time and pray'd he might be discharg'd from future servitude upon heareing whereof and after some arguements on the same The said Robert Bennett agreed & Condescended that provided the sd Indian Billy would serve him the term & tyme of Eleven months next Ensueing the date hereof honestly, faithfully & truely That at the Expiration thereof he would sett free & discharge him from all manner of service to which proposall and Condition the said Indian Billy Consented agreed and promised to perform. Whereupon the Petition aforesaid is ordered to be Dismist.

24 June 1713

p.217

Edward Buss and Margrett Redley being presented by the Grand Jury and Convict of Living in that notorious Sinn of fornication and Cohabiting each with the other in mains? Contempt to allring? City God and Contrary to the Laws of this Colony are each of them fined five hundred pounds of tobacco And It is ordered the same be levyed & dess? of for the use of Washington parish according to Law And it is ordered the sheriff of this County doe take the said Buss into his Custody and him safely keep untill he shall Give security for his refraneing and avoiding accompanying & Cohabiting with the said Margrett Redley for the future.

27 april 1715

p.261a

Elizabeth Tate of the parish of Cople in the County aforesd being presented by the grand Jury at November Court Last for haveing a bastard Child in the said parish in the month of Sept. Last Now at this Court appeared And by George Elkridge her Atty: alledged that she the said Eliza: is a mulatto and not within the purview of the Law on which the presentment aforesd was founded Which being heard & Considered and It appeareing to the Court that at the time of the bringing the sd presentment she the said Tate was a hired Servant It is their opinion She is within the verg of the Law and Lyable to the penalties thereby inflicted for the Sinn of fornication And thereupon they doe fine her for the same according to the presentment aforesaid in the sum of five hundred pounds of Tobacco And doe order that the same be levyed and assessed of her for the use of Cople parish aforesd according to Law. From which Judgment the sd Elizabeth by her said Attorney prayed an appeale to the Ninth day of the next General Court which is granted. The appellatnt Entering into bond with security to prosecute her said appeale according to Law.

Thomas Lee Esqr. 7 George Elkridge gentl. personally assured in Court in the sum of twenty pounds Sterl: for the appellants prosecution of her sd appeale according to Law.

28 April 1715

p.266

It was Comanded John Shurman gentl: Shrffe of this County that he should attach Wm Brown Mulatto to answer William Seale and Eliza: his wife of a plea on the Case for Eighteen hundred twenty pounds of Tobacco and by accot. and the sheriff Returned Cepi Corpo Wm Brown Negroe Security But for that the Defend: failed to appeare Upon Motion of the Pltf: Conditional order passed against the said security for the debt aforesaid according to Law.

26 July 1716

Whereas at November Court last It was ordered that xxxx Bennett should Cause Samll Wright & Francis Wright Negroe slaves belonging to Thomas Bennett to be & appear at the the [sic] next Court in order to be acquainted with his hon: the Lieut. Governrs. Letter Concerning their Petition to him Relateing to their freedom. And for as much as the sd Negroes not as yet appeared pursueant to the sd order. It is now Ordered that the sheriff of this County Doe imediately take the said Negroes into his Custody & then safely keep till such time as the sd Bennett Do give sufficient security for their appeareance at the next Court to be held for the County aforesd and that the Sheriff Doe Likewise summon Wm Jones & Wm Rust to answer at the said Court

29 August 1716

p.291a

This Court haveing cald before them Samll Wright & Frances Wright Negroe slaves belonging to Thomas Bennett pursuant to his honl. The Lieut. Governr. P?re to the said Court and haveing Causd them to hear the said Letter read as also to understand and be informed of their opinions thereof Doe order that the said Negroes doe imediately return home to their sd Masters Service and for the future to refrain from absenting therefrom.

30 August

p.293

Int the Issue between John Chilton gentl. and Joseph Moxley for detainer of one James Tate (Said to be a servant to the said Chilton) Contrary to Act of Assembly. After hearing all arguements alledged by both Pltf. & Defend. as also the Evidence. Upon Mature Consideration of the whole matter the Court Doe adjudge that the said Tate was a free person at the time of the bringing the process & detainer by the Pltf in his declaration sett forth and that the said John his action aforesaid against the defendant ought not to hold and thereupon doe order the same be dismist with Costs.

Eliza Tate being summoned as an evidence in the suite depending between John Chilton Gentl. pltf. & Joseph Moxley Defend: on behalf of the pltf. and haveing attended twenty nine day's as appeared by her oath. Upon her Motion It is ordered that the said Chilton doe pay her Eleven hundred sixty pounds of Tobacco for her said attendance with Costs otherwise Executed

31 July 1718

p.353a

William Brown Negro Confessed Judgment to Henry Roe for the Sum of two hundred twenty five pounds of Tobacco. Ordered to pay the same with costs.

26 March 1719

p.367

Upon Motion of Nicholas Minor Judgment is granted him against his servant Mary Murrey (who was lately delivered in his house of a bastard Child) for one yeares service according to the Law in the like case provided. Ordered she the sd Murrey do serve the said term after all former service shall be fully expired.

Mary Murrey A Servant belonging to Nicholas Minor being presented by the grand Jury for having a mulatto bastard Child. It is ordered that immediately after her time of Service to her said Master shall be fully expired that she sold by the Church Wardens according to Law and the price accordingly made use of

30 July 1719

373a

Robert Vaulx vs Wm Brown Mullatto debt for 94 lbs of Tobac Conditional order against the sheriff

1 Oct 1719

378a

Nathll. Pope gentl. vs. Wm Brown Negro & Wm Brown Mulatto debt for 384 pds of Toba. Conditional order against Abraham Morris Returned Security

27 January 1719/20

p.382

Ordered that the Sheriff of this County doe take Sarah a servant woman belonging to George Elkrige Gentl. into his Custody so provide that he have her body at the next Court to be held for this county to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury against her at November Court Last.

392a

Mary Fullam a white woman servant belonging to Henry Ashton of the parish of Cople in the County aforesd gentl being presented by the Grand Jury for bearing a Mulatto Child and convict of the same. It is ordered she serve her said Master one whole year after all former service which to him is due from her shall be expired or pay him one thousand pounds of Tobacco in compensation of loss of service trouble of his house and other expenses, and It is also ordered that the Church Wardens of the said parish do immediately after the expiration of the service due to the said Ashton sell the said Mary Fullam for five yeares (unless she pay them the sum of fifteen pounds current money of Virga.) and the money or what she shall be sold for to be employed by the Vestry for the use of the parish aforesaid. And It is further ordered that the

Church Wardens of the parish aforesd do bind the aforesaid child to be a servant till it be thirty one yeares of age according to Law.

23 February 1720/21

p.401

Wm Shurman vs. Wm Brown Mulatto debt for 1000 pds tobacco: Conditional order agst Henry Lee gentl. Sheriff

26 April

403

It was commanded Henry Lee gentl. sheriff of this County that he should summon William Brown Mulatto to answer at Febry Court last Wm Shurman of a plea of debt ... failed to appear ... judgment granted Shurman against the sheriff

p. 116

Buss vs Brown Vicessimo quarto Feb 1708

Judgment is granted Edward Buss against the estate of Phillip Brown for the sume of 402 pounds of tobacco due by accot. attacht. on a cropp of corn & tobacco appraised to Eight hundred pounds of tobacco. Ordered that the sd Edward Buss be paid his said debt out of the same (if soe much remaine after Lawrence Butler shall be satisfied his Rent due from the sd Phillip Brown together with his costs in this behalf.

p.240a

Tate vs. Vi & Chilton 2 April 1714

It was commanded John Shurman gentl. Sheriff of the sd County that he should attach John Chilton gentl. to answer James Tate of a plea of Trespass and assault & battery to his damage & twenty pounds sterl. and the sheriff returned Cepi Crpo But for that the defendant failed to appeare and none baile being Returned Upon motion of the pltf. Conditional order is granted him against the said sheriff according to Law for his damages aforesd and upon the sheriffs Motion an attachment is granted him against the Defendts Estate Returnable and to be proceeded in as the Law directs.

29 June 1721

p.4

Judgment is granted Edward Buss against Jane Pope Admstr of Nathl Pope gentl. decd. for the sum of sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco due by account proved by his oath Ordered that the Jane do pay the same with Costs alias Execution.

30 August 1721

page 7

Hannah Martyn Servant to Martha Rust being presented by the Grand Jury for having a bastard Child appeared and Confessed in open Court that the sd Child was begott on her body by a Negro Whereupon it is ordered that the Church Wardens of Cople parish for the time being do

immediately after the expiration of the said Hannah's servitude due to the sd Rust Sell & dispose of her for five yeares unless she pay to the sd Church Wardens the sum of fifteen pounds currency and so ordered the sd money or what she shall ?? ?? for be disposed of to the use of the said parish

p.7a

Upon Motion of Martha Rust Judgment is granted her against her servant Hannah Martyn for one yeares service for the Loss of time and trouble of her house and other Expences occasioned by the said Hannah Martyns bearing a bastard Child in her servitude being the Allowance by Law provided in the Like Case and it is ordered she pay the Law? after all former Service due from her to the said Martha shall be fully expired

28 March 1721/2

p.15

Judgment is granted to Margrett Blagg against Ann Colley her servant for one yeares service for trouble of her house and expences occasioned by her the sd Ann's Bearing a Mulatto bastard Child which service is to be done & performed after all former service from her due to the sd Blagg shall be expired And it is ordered that the Church Wardens of Washington parish for the time being do at the expiration of such service dispose of the sd Colley for five yeares unless she do pay the parish according to Law and Indef thereof the value the shall be disposed of for to go to the sd parish use.

30 August 1722

p.25

William Jones vs Wm Brown Mulatto Case for 843 lbs To Conditional order against Spencer Munroe

James? Butler vs Wm Brown Mulatto Debt for 500 pds tobacco

30 January 1722/3

p.33

It was commanded that george Turbeville Gentl. sheriff of this county that he summon William Brown Mulatto to answer James Butler August Court last ... debt ... failed to appear ... recover from his security

26 June 1723

p.41

It is ordered that the sheriff of this County do summon ... Jane Fry a Mulatto servt woman belonging to Wm Bridges ... to answer the several misdemeanors whereof they severally stand psented by the Grand Jury.

31 July 1723

p.42

Ordered that the sf. of this County do take Jane Fry into his Custody & so provide that she have her body before his Majsts. Justices for this County at the next Court to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury

28 February 1723/4

p.45a

Jane Fry of Washington parish being presented by the Grand Jury for the sin of fornication & Convict thereof Is fined 500 pounds of Tobacco According to Law Whereupon at her Instance William Bridges assumes to pay the fine to the Church Wardens of the sd Parish the Paying the next Prish Levy and it is ordered the same be Levyed & disposed of to the use of the sd parish accordingly.

Jane Fry a Mulatto woman acknowledged to serve Wm Bridges her present Master the full term of one year and an half after all former service from her due to him shall be fully expired. The same being in Compensation of a Loss of Service & trouble of his house in Such? Child bearing and for his the sd Bridges paying her the sd Fry's fine of fornication to the Church Wardens of Washington parish

25 March 1724

p.61

Sheriff ordered to take Mary Fullam to next court to answer Church Wardens

24 June 1724

p.70a

Ann Palmer servt. to Michael Gilbert of Cople parish being presented by the grand Jury for having a Mulatto bastard Child came into Court & acknowledged the said Child was begott on her body by a negro Man Whereupon it is ordered she be sold by the Church Wardens of the sd parish (at the expiration of her present servitude) for five yeares for the use of the parish aforesd and that her sd Master do give the Church Wardens an account when her sd servitude to him shall be completed some small time before the end thereof.

Upon the motion of Michael Gilbert It is ordered that Ann Palmer his present Servt. being convicted of bearing a Mulatto Bastard Child do serve him in compensation of trouble of his house & Loss of time one whole yeare after all former service from her due to him shall be expired according to Law.

30 July 1729

p.72a

The Church Wardens of Cople parish having heretofore acquainted this Court that Mary Fullame a servant to Coll. Henry Ashton was Lately delivered of a Mulatto Bastard Child and the sheriff reporting he could by no means take her to have her forthcoming as it was Commanded

him. Upon the Motion of the sd Church Wardens Judgment is granted against the said Mary Fullam to be proceeded according to Law.

p.73a

John Ashton vs Wm Jones Mulatto Debt for 830 pds of Tobacco {attachment granted against the estate returnable according to Law.

28 May 1725

p.95

Augustine Washington gentl. brought suite against Wm Brown Mulatto & declared against him for the sum of 794 pds of tobacco and the shrff. returned Ce. Co. George Peach security But for that the defendant failed to appear per the Pltfs. motion conditional order passed at February Court last against the security according to Law. And now at this court Likewise the defendant failed to appear upon the pltfs. further motion and proving his Debt by his oath Judgement is Confirmed

30 March 1726

p.113

William Brown Negro the next of kin to William Brown Mulatto decd. came into Court and made oath that the sd Brown departed this Life without makeing any will so fare as he knows or believes and upon his Motion and performing what is usual in such cases Certificate is granted him for obtaining Letters of Administration upon the sd decd Estate in due form William Shurman, James Hore assuming to be Securities for his faithful administration according to Law. Ordered that Original Roe, William Wroe, William Brown, and John Rice or any three of them being first sworn before one of his Majst. Justices for the said County do some time & before the next court to be held for the County aforesd value & appraise the said Estate and make report thereof to the said next Court.

31 July 1728

p.212a

A Servant woman belonging to the Reverend Lawrence Debatts her name unknown to the Jury being by ord. of last Court summoned to appear at this court to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury for haveing of her body a Mulatto Child within Six Months Last and after considering that the want of the name of the offender in the presentment ... the same to be dismissed.

26 February 1728/9

p.246

Sarah Monroe widow brought to the barr a Mulatto boy named William Brown the Son of Wm Brown Decd. a free person and prayed the said boy might be bound to her & her hrs. or assigns till he was twenty one years of age being now ten years of age which the Court do Grant & order that he the sd Wm Brown do serve her the sd Sarah Monroe till he's twenty one years of age as aforesaid She or they providing all things necessary for the their said brot. according to Law and to Cause him to be Learn'd the Trade of a Farmer.

27 March 1729

p.253a

Geo. Turberville assignee of Edward Bussey vs Joseph Woodward Debt for 500 pds of Tobac. }
continued by ord vs Security

28 March 1729

p.258

Edward Bulger by his pet. to October Court Last therein Sett forth that he being security for Mary Pendergrass due admn. of the Est. of her dec. husband Edward Pendergrass and the sd Mary being Married again to one Edward Bussey who together with the said Mary had Imbezld a Great part of the sd Decd. Est. for which the plt. was Security so that he was likely to be assest Sufferer whereupon a summons Issued which being by the Sheriff returned served and now at this Court the said Bussey and Mary his wife not appearing or anyone for them It is ordered that the said Edmund Bulger Take possession and have in his Custody what of the Est of the sd Edward Pendergrass is now left or can be found for and towards Indemnifying the sd petitionr. from his Securitiship as aforesaid.

29 March 1729

p.261a

The Church Wardens vs Lucy Lofty } Debt for 15 pounds for having a mulato Bastard Child }
Not Guilty pleaded to Delq?

27 August 1729

p.287a-288

On petition of Allin Horton Howton? the Court do bind as an apprentice Abraham Brown a Mulato Lad (Son of Wm Brown Mulato? decd.? <both in fold> for the space of five years the said Abraham being present and assenting thereto in Consideration of which he serve the said Allin Horton and is ordered to provide all necessarys of Life for the sd apprentice Suitable to his degree Dureing the said Term and to Teach him the Trade of a Gold Smith and to Read write and Cypher and at the Expiration of the said time to pay and allow his said apprentice what the Law of this Country allow to Servants Imported.

29 August 1729

p.293a

Wm Brown Negro admr. of Wm Brown Mulatto deceased vs Richard Morton } damage of 1300
pds tobacco Contd. at ye Defendts. prayer at ? fold

1729/30

p.307a

Susanna Brown an orphan Child of Wm Brown Malato decd. on motion of John Binks is bound to serve him the said Binks in all Lawful Employment till she Comes & arrive to the age of Eighteen Yeares (She being now adjudged Six years old) and the said Binks is ord. to find such foods? soord? for his sd Servt. Good wholesome & Sufficient meat Drink & Apparrell Dureing

the sd Term and teach or Cause her to be taught to read English & at Expiration of her sd time to pay & allow for her freedom dues.

26 February 1729

p.312

The action upon the Case bro't by Wm Brown Negro administr. of Wm Brown Mulato dec. being Called and both parties appearing it is agreed if the defendt.'s writ discharge the debt by sufficient Evidence at next Court that the sd claime hath been already paid that then the plaintiff to have Judgmt. for his debt aforesaid.

27 May 1730

p.328a

Grand Jury vs Mary Munrows Mulatto Woman }

Ordered that the Sheriff of this County do summon Mary a Mulato serv. woman belonging to Wm Munroe of the parish of Washington to be ? ... bastard child born of her body ... (very dark film)

27 August 1730

p.338

Mary a Mulato servant to William Monroe of Washington parish being presented by the grand jury at May Court last for having a bastard child on or about the 20th of February last past which being now Calld and the Court taking the Same under Consideration they are of opinion that Malato women are Not within the penalty of the Law Against Bastardy they being by the Law of the Country prohibited marriage with white men, And therefore It ordered that the presentment be Dismist.

p.341

The action of a case between Wm Brown Negro admr. of Wm Brown Mulato the pltf. and Richd Morton in Court at the defendant's Costs as per capt. John Elliotts word? in his Cause

30 September

p.344a

Wm Brown Negro admr. of Wm Brown Mulato decd. vs Richard Morton} case damage 1300 lb Tobacco } contd. at Morton's costs

26 Feb 1730

p.359a

In the action upon the Case between Wm Brown Negro admr. of Wm Brown Mulato decd pltf. and Richard Morton Defendt. for as the last was pending before the Act of Assembly was repleald or allowed Deft. to Discharge any unjust artickle by his oath therefore the Deft. is allowed to him upon his oath Declared he had Discharged & payed this Debt before this issue brought upon the Same is Dismist.

1 Apri 1731

p.366a

Nimrod Holt? vs Robt Hitch} Trespass upon the Case damage 603} dismist by agreement & no debt filed

1731-1739 WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS

25 February 1731/2

p.15

Martha Thompson Daughter of Sarah Thompson by her petition to June Court Last therein? <fold> sett forth that her said Mother is a free Malato woman and was formerly Lawfully married to one Joshua Thomson by whom She had severall Children & amongst them the petr. born in Lawfull wedlock & Said mother being then a free woman That the petr.'s mother and her husband bound the petr. by Indenture to one John Sorrell decd. untill She should arrive to the age of one and Twenty years That John Footman Gentl. Intermarried with the said John Sorrells widow by means whereof he hath had the service of the petr. ever since. That the petr. the 22 day of the same June Last past arrived to the full age of Twenty one years and having fully served the time she was bound for by the sd Indenture mentioned was then free from any more or further Service but the said Footman Still detained her as a servant pretending that she ought by Law to serve him untill She attains thirty years of age being born of a Mulato woman who he says was a Servt. at the time of such binding The petr. humbly conceived and being advised that as her ptr. mother was a free woman at the time of the binding she was not obliged by Law to serve any Longer than she was bound for as aforesaid and therefore prayed she might be Sett free & upon which sd petition a Summons Issued for the said John Footman and now at this Court both parties appearing and the matter fully argued by the attorneys on both sides upon a full hearing whereof the Court are of opinion the sd Martha Thompson hath a Good right to freedom and thereupon it is ordered that she be hence Discharged & sett free from any further service Due to the sd footman or any other by Virtue of the binding aforesaid and it is further ordered that the said John Footman do pay her the sd petitioner her Costs in this behalf expended together with an attorneys fee

28 July 1732

p.35

The petition in this Court pending between John Fry a Mulato and Wm Bridges for freedom and freedom Dues being called it was Said the Contending parties had agreed & Neither appearing the sd petition is Dismist.

29 March 1733

p.75a

The presentment of the Grand Jury at May Court Last against Richard Allen for his living in Audlter with Ann a Mulato woman & being now called & ... Suggested to the Court that they were married together in Maryland the sd presentment orderdd. to be dismist.

31 May 1733

p.86a

The action on the Case between John Minor Pltf. and John Mozingo Deft. being agreed is Dismist.

p.90a

The Scire facias brought by John Mozingo against Edward Muse being Called and no P'son appearing to prosecute the same is Dismist.

The Scire facias brought by Edward Mozingo against Edward Muse being Called and no P'son appearing to prosecute the same is Dismist.

p.92

In the action of Trespass upon the Case between Gerrard Mozingo by Richd Minor his next Friend pltf. and John Randell deft. the said deft. failing to appear on Motion Edward Barradell the pltf's attorney Conditional order passed against Christopher Neale Returned Security.

31 July 1733

p.99a

On motion of Wm Williams A Mulato Conceiving ? or being advised that he hath a Right to freedom (and being Detained by Isaac Allerton Gent.) Colo. Geo. Eskridge is assigned his Councell the Said Allerton being present Doth agree to and with the said Eskrdige that a Rule of Court Shall be Entered for the bringing the Matters in Difference to Tryal before this Court without official process and that upon the sd Eskridges filing a Declaration in the Court the said Allerton Shall plead thereto & Submit to a fair Tryal Thereof.

27 March 1734

At a Court called and held at the court house of the said County on Thursday the 28th Day of March 1734 For the Examination of Ephraim McCarty and Edward Mozingo Committed to the County Goal for and under accusation of the Feloneous breaking open a Tobacco house and Carrying away Some Tobacco Said to belong to Nicholas Minor as also certain Evidences For taking the said Facts.

The prisoners Ephraim McCarty and Edward Mozingo Sett to the barr and Charged with the facts whereof they stand accused Which they Denied. Then Nicholas Minor, Nicholas Minor Jr., Richard Sandford, Thomas Pope, Stephen McMullin?, John Mozingo Sr., and Gerrard Mozingo Were all Sworn Evidences on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King against the prisoners at the barr and Examined Them John Mozingo the Elder was Sworn and Examined on behalf of the Prisoners. and upon a full heering of the whole matter and Mature Consideration thereon had. This Court is of the Opinion that they the Said Ephraim McCarty and Edward Mozingo are Not Guilty of the Felony of which they stood Charged And therefore it is Considered by the Court that they Each of them go home without Day and it is further ordered that they be Discharged from the accusation aforesaid & without paying any fees

28 May 1734

p.137a

Grand Jury vs Ann Burk of Washington parish for having a bastard child within six months

ditto Margaret Cannaday of Washington Parish

31 July 1734

p.146

Ann Burk not to be found by sheriff

24 June 1735

p.173a

Catherine Clark of Cople parish a woman Servant to Willoughby Newton Getn. being brought before the Court for Bearing a bastard Child made Oath that Akey a Negro Man Slave to her said Master was father of her said Child. Therefore it is Considered by the Court that Shee the said Catherine Clark Shall at the Expiration of her present time of Service to her Said Master pay to the Church Wardens of the sd parish for the use of the parish aforesd fifteen pounds Current Money or be by them Sold for five Years as the Law Directs for her having a Mulatto Bastard.

On motion of Willoughby Newton Gent. it is Considered by the Court that his woman Servant Catherine Clark do serve him one whole year after her present time of Service Ended for Trouble of his house and for Loss of time (as the Law Directs) for having a Mulatto bastard Child

29 July 1735

p.176a

Sarah Davis a Woman Servant belonging to John Elliott on presentment of Church Wardens of Washington parish summoned to this Court to Declare who was the Father of her bastard Child and now appearing at barr and being asked answered that her Said Masters Negro man Fan was the father of her Sd Child whereupon it is Considered by the Court and accordingly order that she the Said Sarah Davis after her present time of Service Ended Over and above the years Served due to her Said Master She Shall Immediately pay down to the Church wardens of the parish of Washington (whereon the Said Bastard was born) for the use of the Said parish fifteen pounds Current Money of Virginia or be by them Sold for five years to the use aforesaid

24 February 1735/6

p.189a

Elizabeth Lucas being presented by the grand Jury at November Court Last for bearing of her body a base born Mulatto Child in the parish of Cople and it appearing by the Sherif wtness? that the Said Elizabeth hath been Summoned to answer the Same at this Court and Now the presentment being Calld and She failing to appear it is Considered by the Court that the Sherif take her into Custody and have her body at the Next Court to be held for the County aforesd to answer for the Said offence

30 March 1736

p.192a

Elizabeth Lucas a Servant woman belonging to John Footman Gent. being presented by the grand Jury at November Court Last for bearing of her body a Mulato bastard Child and now being brought to the barr and Confessing the fact it is considered by the Court that She the Said Elizabeth Lucas after her present time of Service concluded do Serve her Said master one whole year for his loss & trouble occasioned by means of her having the Said bastard and also She Shall Immediately upon the Expiration of her time to her said Master pay down to the Church wardens of Cople parish for the use of the said parish Fifteen pounds current Money of Virginia or be by them sold for five Years for the use aforesaid as the Law directs.

25 May 1736

p.199

Presentment: Mary Cannady base born child within six months of Washington parish

30 June 1736

p.207

presentment . . . Mary Cannady not found by sheriff . . . Dismist.

p.252a

In the action of Debt between Geo. Lee and Saml Eskridge Gent. Church wardens of Cople parish pltfs. and Ann Pursley defendt. for the said Ann's bearing of her body a Mulato bastard Child in the said parish the Suit being Now Called and the defendt. appearing and being Conscious of the fact and not capable to pay the fifteen pounds Curr. Money the ? by Law assessed & Submitted her Self to be Sold as the Law directs in & whereupon it is Considered by the Court that Patrick Spence Gent. Sherif Sell the said Ann Pursley to the highest bidder to serve five years and the product of the suit to pay to the pltfs in their Quallification aforesaid for the use of the said parish

30 May 1738

p.263

It is ordered the Sherif of this County Summon Sarah Davis a Servant woman belonging to Capt. John Elliott to be and appear at the Next Court to be held for the County aforesaid to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury against her for bringing a Mulato bastard Child within this six months past in Washington parish

27 June 1738

p.270a

Sarah Davis a Servant woman belonging to John Elliott Gent. in the parish of Washington being presented by the Grand Jury at May Court Last for her having a Mulatto bastard Child and the said Sarah being Summoned to answer the Same Now appearing in Court and Confessing the fact It is considered by the Court that after her time of Service with her said Master be Ended That the Church wardens of the Said parish for the time being take her the Said Sarah Davis and sell her for five years for the Good of the Said parish as the Law in such cases directs.

p.271

Daniel Muse brought into Court a poor boy belonging to Mary Bussey a Widow Woman named Samuel Bussey and prayed the said boy Might be bound to him he being ready to teach him a Trade of a farmer? and to Comply with the Law in such Cases whereupon it is considered by the Court that the Church Wardens of Washington parish (where he the said Muse lives) do bind out the said Samuel Bussey out to him the Said Daniel Muse according to Law.

16 October 1738

p.292

John Mozingo of the said county planter . . . taken up a Negro woman slave Named Pegg belonging to Robt. Carter an infant under the Care of Honrbl. Secretary Carter

28 November

p.296

It is orderd. that the Sherif of this County do Summon Ann Allen of Cople parish to be and appear at the Next Court to be held for the County aforesaid to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury for her having a Mulatto child born of her body within Six Months last past.

31 January 1738/9

p.302

The presentment of the Grand Jury against Ann Allen of Cople parish at November Court last for her having a Mulatto Child born of her body within Six months then last past being Now called and not appearing nor such person for her to say any thing in of the said presentment and it appearing by the Sherif return that she was summoned to answer. It is therefore Considered by the court that . . . she be fined according to Law . . . pay to the church wardens of the parish 15 pounds or be sold for 5 years.

ORDERS 1739-43

30 July 1740

p.65

The Action of Trespass upon the Case between John Carlyle Mercht. Pltf. and Francis Chandler deft. being Returned Non Est Inventus and for that the Said Francis Chandler is Runaway out of these parts it is Considered the Suit be dismissed.

26 May 1741

p.98a

John Davis a Mulatto Son of Peter Davis decd. Preferred a petition to Last Court for freedom therein Signifying that his present Master John Bushrod Gent. had no Right to Keep him any Longer a Servt. his Said Master being then present and promising to bring his Indentures to this Court the matter was thereupon accordingly Referred and now at this Court both parties appearing and the Said Bushrod producing the Sd Indentures to the Court which being read and

adjudged Good he the sd John Davis is order home & to Serve the remainder of his Indentured time unto his sd. Master John Bushrod Gentleman.

p.99a

It is ordered the Sherif of this County do Summon Wm Keyton a Mulatto Man and Sarah Heath a white woman of Washington parish to be and appear at the Next Court to be held for the County afsd: to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury for Cohabitting Together (and having Sundry Children) undr. pretence of man and wife within Six months last past.

p.100

It is ordered that the Sherif of this County do summon Geo: Hinson of Washington parish to be and appear at the Next Court to be held for the County afsd: to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury against him for Living in adultery with Margaret Chandler a Mulatto ye wife of Francis Chandler within 6 months last past.

It is Ordered the Sherif of this County do Summon Francis Chandler & Rebecca Pain of the prsh. of Cople to be and appear at the Next Court to be held for the County afsd. to answer the presentment of the Grand Jury against them for Cohabitting Together within 6 Months Last past.

29 July 1741

p.114a

In the presentment of the Grand Jury at May Court Last against Aaron Rose and Bridget Keyton of Washington parish for Cohabitting together and having Sundry Children under pretence that they are man and wife within Six months then Last past the Said Rose and Keyton now appearing by William Kennan their Attorney and pleaded not Guilty which Issue being joined by Coven Delany attorney for Washington parish and thereupon the Cause is Continued for trial at Next Court.

William Kayton a mulatto man & Sarah Heath a white woman of Washington parish being presented by the Grand Jury at May Court Last for Cohabitting Together and having Sundry Children under pretence of Man and wife within Six months then Last past and the Same being Now Calld. It appeared by the Sherif's return that he had left a Summons at their dwelling house and for as much as Neither of them Now appearing or any body for them to Say any thing in barr of the Said presentment on Motion of Coven Dulany Attorney for the sd parish it is Considered by the Court that the said William Kayton & the sd Sarah Heath be each of them fined the Sum of five hundred pounds of Tobacco the penalty by Law assessed for the sin of Fornication which Law ...

p.115a

George Hinson of Washington parish being presented by the Grand Jury for living in adultery with Margaret Chandler a Mulatto the wife of Francis Chandler within Six months then last past The said Geo. Hinson now appearing by William Kennon his attorney on whose motion an imparlance is granted him til next Court

The presentment of the Grand Jury at May Court Last against Francis Chandler and Rebecca Payn of the parish of Cople for Cohabitting together within Six months last past is Dismist No Crime being Charged in the presentment.

27 February 1741/2

p.134

The Grand Jury's Presentment against George Hinson of Washington Parish for living in adultery with Margt Chandler a mulatto is ordered to be dismissed it being Suggested to the Court that he sd Hinson's Run away.

June 1743

p.201

Gerrald Mozingo came into Court of his own free Will Agreed to Serve George Blackman for the consideration of fourteen hundred pounds of Tobacco per Annum

ORDERS 1743-1747

28 February 1743/4

p.14a

The Action of Trespass upon the Case Between Wm Cosgriff pltf and Abraham Hall deft is dismissed no person appearing

24 April 1744

p.23a

The Action of Trespass upon the Case Between Abraham Hall, Pltf. & Thos McBoyd defendt. is Agreed and dismissed

30 October 1744

p.46

Dianna Coles came into Court and made Oath that Francis Chander was the Father of her Bastard Child by means whereof and by force of the act of assembly in Such case made and provided, the said Chandler is Liable and compellable to maintain the Said Child, and to keep the Parish Indemnified from all Charges concerning the Child. Therefore on motion of William Fitzhugh and Nicholas Minor Gent. Churchwardens of the Parish of Cople It is ordered that the Sherif of this county do take him the said Francis Chandler in to his Custody and him Safely keep until he shall give Security to maintain the Child afsd. and keep the Parish Indemnified Pursuant to the act of assembly afsd.

27 February 1744/5

p.57

Upon the Petition of Joanna Fry and Ketany Fry against Presly Thornton, Joseph Moreton, Augustine Washington, and Lawrence Butler, Gent., Execrs. of Daniel McCarty, Gent., decd for

freedom, the sd Joana is adjudged as free and the Petition continued til next court for the said Ketany to Prove her age &c

Upon the motion of Joanna Fry It is ordered that Presly Thornton, Joseph Moreten, Augstine Washington and Lawrence Butler Gent. Executors of Daniel McCarty Gent. decd. do pay unto the sd Fry fifteen Bushells of Indian Corn and forty Shillings in money or the value thereof in goods for her the Said Fry's freedom dues due from the Testator wch. ye sd Execrs. ordered to pay with Costs.

p.57a

Robert Whitliff being summoned as an Evidence in the Suit between Joanna Fry and Ketany Fry Pltf. . . . and living out of this County Seventy miles distance . . . Joanna and Ketany are hereby ordered to pay him . . . for his . . . attendance.

26 March 1745

p.64a

On the petition of Joanna Fry and Ketany Fry against Presly Thornton, Joseph Moreton, Augustine Washington and Lawrence Butler executors of the last will of Daniel McCarty, Gent. decd. for freedom. the sd Joana was adjudged free at February Court Last and now at this Court the sd Ketany is likewise upon due Consideration adjudged free. Therefore the sd Executors are hereby ordered to Pay as well the Costs accruing on the Part of the sd Joana & the costs arrisseing on the Part of the sd Ketany . . .

Upon the motion of Ketany Fry It is orderd. that Presly Thornton, Jos. Moreton, Augustine Washington and Lawrence Butler, Gent., Executors of Daniel McCarty Gent, decd., do pay the sd Ketany fifteen Bushels of Indian Corn and forty shillings Current money or the Value thereof in goods for her the sd Ketany's freedom dues, due from the Testator, which the sd Executors are ordered to pay out of his Estate in their hands with costs alias Excution

30 April 1745

p.66a

In the petition preferred by John Stowers against Abraham Hall Inds. granted the pltf. for one pound seven shillings and one penny the same appearing due by an acct. proved by the pltf.'s Oath. Therefore he is hereby Ordered to pay the Mony aforesaid with Costs als. Execution.

p.67

On the petition preferred by Richard Jackson Merchant against Abraham Hall, Judt. is granted the pltf. for four hundred and twenty one pounds of Tobacco which he is hereby ord. to pay with Costs als. Exon.

It is Ordered the Churchwardens of Washington Parish bind out Thomas Cannady to James Cash according to Law the said Cash having agreed in Court to Learn him the trade of Carpenter.

28 May 1745

p.76

It is Ordered the Sheriff of this County Summon Elizabeth Lucas to be & Appear at the next Court to be held for the County afsd. to Answer the presentment of the Grd. Jury against her for entertaining Negroes & Servants & keeping a disorderly house with in Six months Last past.

27 May 1746

p.137

Pecurer bound to Baley

Solomon Pecure a Molatto came into Court and Agreed to serve William Bayley five Years & Six months from this date in all things Lawfully & Reasonable in Consideration of a debt the said Pecure owed to the said Bayley The sum being under ten pounds the said Bayley Agreed in Open Court To set the said Pecure at Liberty when ever he could raise money sufficient to pay the debt above mentioned.

1 October 1746

p.178a

On the Presentment of the Grand Jury Agst. Elizabeth Lucas a Disorderly House ... a Jury ... do say that the deft. is Guilty & did receive and Entertain in her House Sundry Servants & Slaves and others of Evil fame & Conversation &c ... The sd. Elizabeth Lucas pay Unto ... Churchwardens of the Parish of Cople ten Shillings ... give Security for her good behaviour for one year Next to Come.

27 Janry. 1746/7

p.196

In the Petition preferred by Richard Bernard Gent. Pltf. Against William Katon deft. Judgment is Granted the pltf. for One pound Ten Shillings & Eleven pence Current Money ... returned Not to be found.

24 Feby 1746/7

p.200

In the Petition preferred by William and Edward Muse against Francis Chandler deft. Judgment is granted the pltf. for Nine Hundred and Twenty Eight pounds of Crop Tobacco the same appearing due by an account Proved by the plts. Oath ...

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS 1747-50

24 February 1747/8

p.57

In the Action of Trespass upon thee Case between Abraham Hall a free Molatto Pltf. & John Crabb deft. for that the Sherif returned not to be found in Time upon motion of the Pltfs. Attorney an Als. Capias is to Issue returnable to next Court.

29 June 1748

In the Action of Trespass upon the Case between Abraham Hall Pltf. against John Crabb Defendt. Judgment is granted the Pltf by Nihil Dicit returnable at next Court.

30 November 1748

p.95a

The Action of Trespass upon the Case between Abraham Hall Pltf & John Crabb Deft is contd. at the defts. Cost

29 March 1748/9

p.113a

Abraham Hall a Free Mulatto
against
John Crab } Trespass on the Case

Came the parties aforesaid by their Attornies aforesaid and the said Defendant for Plea Saith . . . that he did not assume upon himself in manner and form as the said Plaintiff hath Alledged against him and thereof he puts himself upon the Country and the said Plaintiff doth Likewise the same. Therefore the Sherif is Commanded that he Cause to Come hither at the next Court to be held for the said County (a jury)

28 June 1749

p.133

Abraham Hall a Free Molatto
against
John Crabb } Trespass on the Case

Now at this day Came the parties aforesaid by their Attornies aforesaid and the Jurors of a Jury to wit Thomas Shaw . . . and John Mosley who to say the Truth of the premises being Elected Tried and sworn upon their oath do say that the Defendant did assume upon himself in manner and form as the said Plaintiff against him hath Complained and assess damages of the said Plaintiff by Reason of the not performing of the premise and assumption aforesaid to fifteen pounds Six Shillings and one penny half penny Current money damages aforesaid by the Jurors aforesaid in form aforesaid assessed and it is also Considered that the Plaintiff Recover against the said Defendant his Costs by him in this behalf Expended and the said Defendant in mercy &c.

It is ordered that Abraham Hall Free Molatto do pay Ashton Lampkin one hundred and twenty five pounds of Tobacco for attending five days as an Evidence for him against John Crabb

It is ordered that Abraham Hall Free Molatto do pay unto John Sorrell one hundred pounds of Tobacco for attending five days as an Evidence for him against John Crabb

p.133a

It is ordered that Abraham Hall a Free Molatto do pay unto James Baley One hundred pounds of Tobacco for attending four days as an Evidence for him against John Crabb

30 November 1749

p.174a

Abraham Hall against William Cox } Trespass Assault & Battery

The said Defendant failing to appear and plead the order of Last August Court is Therefore Confirmed to the said Plaintiff against the said Deft and James Steptoe Gent. Sherif but because the Justices now here are not yet ascertained what Damages the said Plaintiff hath sustained by Reason of the premisses It is Therefore ordered that a writ of Enquiry thereof be Executed at next Court.

30 May 1750

p.198

The action of Trespass Assault & Battery between Abraham Hall Palintif and William Cox Deft. is Continued

p.199

Hannah Charleton against Francis Tuppenny Assault &c for tryal next Court

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS 1750-1752

29 August 1750

p.8a

The Action of Trespass Assault & Battery between Abraham Hall Pltf and Willm. Cox Deft. is Dismissed the Deft. paying Costs.

p.9

Hannah Charleton against Francis Tuppenny } Assault and Battery

not guilty and defendant recover costs.

29 January 1750/1

p.26

George Fry a Free Mulatto Came into Court and Agreed to serve Lawrence Butler Getn. for the Space of four years from this date in Consideration of the sd Butler paying for the sd fry two thousand pounds of Tobo.

p.26-26a

Upon the motion of William Fitzhugh Gent. Setting forth that Margt. Finnie being a person of ill Character by Dealing wth peoples Slaves & other ill Compy. in the Dead time of Night, It is Orderd that the Sherif of this County do take the sd Margaret Finnie into Custody until she give Security for her personal Appearance at next Court. It is Orderd that John a Mulatto Boy Son of the Sd Margt. Finnie be bound by out by the Churchwardens of Cople Parish According to Law.

26 March 1751

p.31

It is Order'd that the Churchwardens of Washington Parish do bind Martha Bowden a Mulatto Child of Mary Bowden to Augustine Washington, Gent., according to Law.

p.32

Margaret Finnie being brought before this Court upon a Complaint Lodged by Willm Fitzhugh Gent. for Entertaining Servants and Slaves & keeping a Disorderly house; Several Witnesses being sworn and Examined on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the king who fully proved her entertaining of Several Peoples Servts., It is therefore Considered by the Court & accordingly Order'd that the Sherif of this County do take her in Custody until she shall give sufficient Security for her good behaviour in the sum of thirty pounds to wit the sd Margt. in the sum of twenty pounds & her securty in the sum of ten pounds Currt. money Payable to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second his heirs & Successors &c.

27 March 1751

p.34a

John Fry against Thomas Finch } Trespass upon the Case. Plaintiff failed to appear.

28 May 1751

p.56a

John Fry against Thomas Finch} Case. Deft. arrested and failing to appear, Order is granted to the Pltf against the sd Deft. & James Steptoe Gent. Sherif of this County for what Damages he shall at the next Court to be held for the County afsd make appear he hath sustained by Reason of the non performance of assumption afsd.

24 September 1751

p.77

The Action of Trespass brought by John Brown against Willm Bowden & Eliza his Wife is Dismist the Deft. paying Cost.

27 November 1751

p.86a

It is Order'd that the Churchwardens of Washington Parish do bind Alice Fry a Mulatto Child, Daughter of Joanna Fry to Sarah Martin According to Law.

21 February 1752

p.108a

It is Order'd that the Churchwardens of Cople Parish do bind a Mulatto Girl named Katharine Mistor (who is about seven Year old) to Elizabeth Curtins, According to Law.

p.109

Robert Sibbalds being bound over over to this Court by John Elliott upon the Complaint of Augn. Washington Gent. for detaining a Mulatto Woman of the sd Washington upon hearing the Complaint of the sd Washington, and the Examination of Several Witnesses the Court are of Opinion that the said Sibbald ought not to be bound to his Good behaviour, therefore do Order that he be discharged from his Recognizance.

26 May 1752

p.124

Augustine Washington Gent. bringing before this Court his Mulatto Servant Woman named Mary Bowden, for Absenting herself from her Master's Service Five Months, and he making Oath that he hath Expended One hundred and Eighty Pounds of Tobacco in taking her up, & the sd Mary having nothing to say in her own defence, It is therefore Order'd that she do serve her sd Master his heirs & Assigns, after her time by Indenture is Expired, One Year two Weeks & five days for sd Absent time & Expenses.

p.126

James Baley agianst William Williams Judgment is granted the Pltf against the said Deft. for the sum of three hundred and Eighty three pounds of Tobo. & Seven Shillgs. & Ten pence Curr. Money

p.127a

Allan McRay againt William Williams} Debt failed to appear . . . 1844 pds of Tobo.

29 July 1752

p.165a

The Action of Detinue brought by Augustine Washington Gent. against Robert Sybelds is dismissed, & It is Ord'd the Pltf pay to the Deft his Costs, together wth. Atty. fee Als. Exen.

1752-1755 WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDER BOOK

27 March 1753

p.60

It is Ordered that the Churchwardens of Cople Parish do bind out the several Children of William Williams a free Mulatto

p.61

In the Petition Preferred by Benjamin Weeks against Edward Mozingo. judgment granted the pltf. against the Deft. for 550 pds of Tobacco

27 March 1754

p.143

Petition presented by James Russel Against Edward Mozingo is dismiss.

26 March 1755

p.227

Ordered the Sheriff of This County do Summon Spencer Aryes & John Aryes to be and appear at the next Court to be held for the County to Answer the petition of William Williams a free Molatto for detaining his Children and it is further Ordered that they bring the said Children with them

p.228

Richard Barnes Gent., vs John Chandler} Case

And the Sheriff having Returned the deft. not to be found upon

27 May 1755

p.249

William Williams against John and Spencer Ariss} Petition in Detinue & detaining the Pltfs Children who were Ordered by this Court to be bound out. This day Came the pltf by David Boyd his Attorney upon hearing the Evidences the said Boyds arguments, and upon Consideration thereof it is the Opinion of the Court that they Cannot reverse their former Order to Bind the Pltfs Children & therefore now Order the said Petition be Dismissed. Whereupon the sd Pltfs Attorney prayed an Appeal which is granted.

p.268a

Richard Barnes against John Chandler Case The Sherif having again returned the Deft not found on the Pltfs motion Ordd. an Plurias Capias be issued against him

30 July 1755

p.300a

Richard Barnes against John Chandler } Case

The Deft failed to appear etc. Order is therefore granted to the Pltf against him the sd Deft and Solomon Redman his Security for all damages that shall appear to have been sustained by the Pltf by reason &c Unless the sd Dft. do appear at the next Ct. &ct

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS 1755-1758

30 Sept 1755

p.7a

Richard Barnes Pltf. against John Chandler (a Mulatto) Deft } Trespass on the Case:

and the Deft in his own proper person comes & defends &c and saith that he cannot deny but that he does woe to the Pltf two pounds Six Shillings and Six pence Curt money & five hundred & fifty three pounds of tobacco as against him the sd Deft. he hath declared. Therefore it is considered that the said Pltf recover against the said Deft etc.

29 January 1756

p.34

The Order of July Court last to take James Clayton into Custody &c on the Complaint of Penelope Taite, not being executed. It is therefore now again Ordered that the Sheriff of this County do take the sd james Clayton in his Custody, so that he cause him to appear at the next Court to answer the afsd. Penelope Taites Complaint against him for ill usage &c.

25 Feb 1757

p.123a

Penelope Taite against James Clayton} Petition. The said Petition is dismissed

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS 1758-1761

29 August 1758

p.1a

Mary Bowden a Molatto Servant was brought to face the Court & Ordered to Serve her Master Augustine Washington Gent. his heirs and assigns four Years Six Months & The days for two years Runaway time & two fees? to be Expended in taking of her up after her Indented time is expired.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ORDERS 1776-86

24 September 1776

p.6

Ordered that the Churchwardens of Washington parish bind Susanna Drake a Mulatto to William Mitchell according to Law.

29 January 1777

p.13

Ordered that William Nelson furnish Mildred Cannady with Four Barrells of Corn and Two hundred weight of Meat for the support of herself and four Children her Husband lately dead in the Service of this Country.

Ordered that the said Mildred Cannady be summoned to next Court to show cause why her Children may not be bound out according to Law.

26 August 1777

p.46

Ordered that the Sherif do summon Winny Taite to appear here at next Court to shew cause why her Daughter Judith Taite should not be bound out according to Law.

23 February 1779

p.71

Ordered that Joseph Peirce Gent. Sheriff of this County do furnish James Cannady and seven small Children with Five Barrels of Indian Corn, and Two hundred pounds of Meat, his Sons being in the Continental Service.

31 October 1780

p.103

Ordered the Sheriff furnish James Cannady and 3 small Children with Four Barells of Indian Corn having lost Two Sons in the Continental Service

James Cannady for Reasons Appearing to the Court is Exempted from the Payment of Levies

30 April 1782

p.124

Ordered the Sheriff furnish James Cannaday and five small children with Five Barrells Indian Corn and Two hundred and Fifty pounds of Meat his Sons being in the Continental Service and it is ordered that the same be Certifyed to the Auditors of this State for the said Allowance.

26 November 1782

p.136

The Last Will and Testament of James Cannaday deced. was proved according to Law by the oaths of William Thomson a Witness thereto.

25 March 1783

p.142

Ordered that Reuben Cannaday Heir at Law of James Cannaday deced. be summoned to Contest the Validity of the said Cannadys Will if he should think proper.

22 February 1785

Ordered that Winifred Tate be summoned to next Court to show Cause why her Son Henry Tate should not be bound out according to Law.

30 May 1786

p.348

The Court proceeded to make provision for the poor unprovided for in the said County from the 28th day of March 1785 to the first day of April 1786. Allowances for the poor of Cople parish

Jemima Tait 400 pounds of tobacco

29 August 1786

p.366

Upon the Presentment of the Grand Jury against Free Isaac living at Wm Hodges for swearing and Sabbath breaking. This day came the Attorney for the Commonwealth and the Deft. not appearing the sd solemnly called. It is considered by the Court that the Deft make his Fine with the Commonwealth by the payment of Twenty shillings and that he pay the Costs of this prosecution and may be taken &c.

p.366

On the Complaint of Juriah Gibson against James Taite and Sukey his wife for sureties? of the Peace, on hearing both parties it is considered by the Court that the said James Taite and Sukey his Wife find Securities themselves in Twenty pounds each and their Securities in Ten pounds each and that they be Committed until they give each Securities.

1 December 1786

p.399

The petition of Juriah Gibson against James Taite is continued at the Cost of the Petitioner.

ORDERS 1787-1790

25 September 1787

p.29

On the Complaint of Sukey Taite against James Taite for Sureties of the Peace on hearing the Parties it is Considered by the court that the said James Taite find Security himself in the sum of Fifty pounds and two Securities in the sum of Twenty five pounds each, and that he be Committed until he give such Securities.

29 November 1787

p.57

On the motion of Anne Cannaday to file a Bill of Injunction against John Mazarett. It is Ordered that the same be granted her and she give Bond according to Law.